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In the Year of Change

The Evolution of a Species

by Matthew Cunningham and John Kurzweil

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A California Political Review Roundtable Discussion
Robert Naylor • Manuel S. Klausner • Barbara Keating-Edh
Errol Smith • Steven Hayward • Steve Baldwin • Hugh Hewitt

Paul Ciotti
How the Media Makes People Paranoid

Katherine Andes' Close Encounters With
An Environmentalist

Also:

David Horowitz: Learning To Live With Murder

Sacramento Spectator
Wilson's Baffling Agenda

Rappin' For Free Speech and Platinum-Gold

Vol. 3, No. 4 *A Publication of the California Public Policy Foundation* Fall 1992

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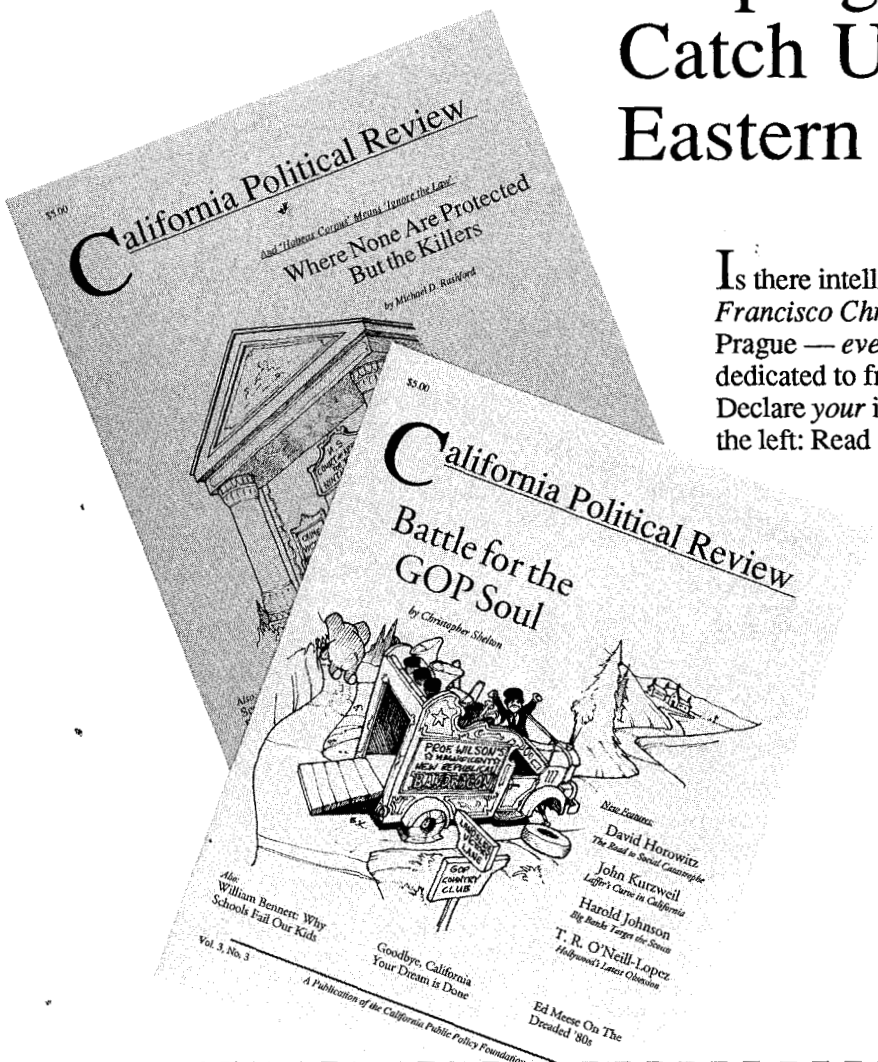
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California Political Review

Fall 1992

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Correspondence

Bennett on Education

Bill Bennett's article ("An Obligation to Teach," *CPR*, Summer 1992) shows just how successful liberals have been in releasing teachers from teaching our kids right from wrong. Thomas Jefferson wrote of the "importance of calculation and writing and of reading history and geography," but he also emphasized the need to instruct the mass of our citizens in "these, their rights, interests, and duties as men and citizens." Jefferson believed education should aim at the improvement of both one's morals and faculties. The value-neutrality of liberal college faculty and first-through-12th grade teachers has put public education at nadir.

Kyle Farquhar
Perris

There is much talk and support for the concept of educational "choice" and "vouchers," but I don't recall seeing a companion explanation of how it will be administered.

Will the Feds have a hand in dictating to private schools *how* they should educate? Will vouchers involve a surrender in any way to "national" authorities? Will this just be another way for Washington to meddle? Bill Bennett's essay makes no mention of this aspect of the issue. Unless we discuss this aspect more frequently, we're just being led down the primrose path without thinking.

W. Edward Chynoweth
Sanger

Kevin Teasley, Vice Chairman and Campaign Director of ExCEL, the organization that, with the American Forum, sponsored Mr. Bennett's speech, responds:

The concern that vouchers would be an invitation for government to regulate private schools, as expressed by Mr. Chynoweth, is one frequently raised by both school choice proponents and opponents. Indeed, the authors of the Parental Choice in Education Initiative were concerned as well. Our concern resulted in our writing an initiative which actually strengthens private school autonomy. Today, it takes only a simple majority in the Legislature to add new regulations on our private schools; if the initiative is passed in the June 1994 election, a three-fourths vote of the Legislature will be required. As for federal regulations, the $2600 scholarship provided by the initiative will not include any federal or local funds, thus no new regulations would follow.

But this is not the complete answer to the question. It should also be noted that the initiative offers a full choice program which does not require anyone to participate; it simply provides opportunity for participation. Neither the private school nor individuals have to participate. Private schools may choose not to accept vouchers for any reason; the initiative does not compel them to do so.

To learn more about the initiative, I invite all readers to call ExCEL at 310/416-9601.

Embarrassed in Michigan

I can't believe what you published about health care under Milton Friedman's name ("Government v. The People on Health Care," *CPR*, Spring 1992). As a former colleague of his at the Hoover Institution, I was embarrassed to send him a copy.

How could you possibly believe he would say:

1. Let the "government" pay for major medical care.
2. Provide "free" medical care.

The truth is Dr. Friedman advocates a very limited role for government via purchasing private insurance for a small group of people who can't take care of themselves. If you were correct, your story should be titled "Milton Friedman Proposes Socialized Medicine." You would have the biggest story since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Are you sure you are not working for Teddy Kennedy? Shame on you.

Gerald L. Musgrave, Ph.D.
Ann Arbor

Lighten up, Gerry. The Pacific Research Institute, which sponsored Dr. Friedman's speech and provided us the transcript from which the excerpt in our Spring issue was taken, verifies that he did in fact say just what CPR *published. If you'd care to call them, I'm certain they will tell you the same thing. Now, unless you still think this means Dr. Friedman has converted to socialism, you might consider the more likely possibility that his proposal was intended to begin pointing the debate toward the genuine causes of America's health care problems and towards some steps that would begin to improve matters, all without being his final word on the subject. And calm down; life's short enough without courting heart failure over matters like this.*
Editor

Excessive Immigration

Barbara McCarthy's letter ("Correspondence," *CPR*, Summer 1992) is must reading. It is a well-reasoned, informative, thoughtful, and responsible summary of

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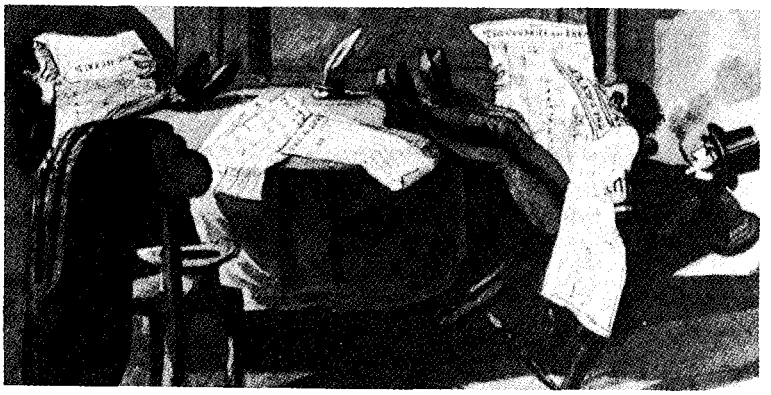
California Chronicles

Anne McFadden, editor



Republican Party of California

Fall Convention

At the September state GOP convention in Los Angeles, party Chairman Jim Dignan spelled out some things a Republican majority in California's Legislature would do during its first 100 days in office, including:

- reform Workers' Comp to give employers lower premiums and reduced litigation costs,
- cap punitive damages and establish no-fault auto insurance,
- reduce the capital gains tax,
- enact investment tax credits,
- reform the Environmental Quality Act to get rid of duplicative, wasteful agencies that harass businesses trying to expand or re-locate,
- pass the governor's budget reforms and reform welfare to promote responsibility on the part of recipients,
- save hundreds of millions of tax dollars by adopting federal "prevailing wage" standards to calculate state wages (California currently pays at a far higher rate),
- encourage privatization, and
- adopt parental choice in education.

Reporters complained about the lack of "news" generated at the convention while ignoring all of this in their coverage. But with the gerrymander gone, these Republican reform proposals no longer belong in the category of pipe dream.

Reason Foundation

Privatization Center Opens

In an April 30 Executive Order, President Bush lowered federal barriers to state and local privatization, spurring the activities of the Reason Foundation's recently opened Privatization Center. Headed by William Eggers (who came to Reason from the Heritage Foundation), the Center is staffed by privatization experts who explore ways to save public funds and make government run more efficiently through the privatization of public works and such capital assets as airports, highways, and bridges. A Reason proposal recommending the sale of Los Angeles International Airport, for example, generated wide debate. The Center, which publishes *Privatization Watch*, maintains one of the nation's most comprehensive libraries of privatization data. Contact: Privatization Center, Reason Foundation, 3415 S. Sepulveda Blvd., Suite 400, Los Angeles, CA 90034, 310/391-6525.

Sex Respect

Abstinence Alternative to Sex Ed

An alternative to here's-a-condom-go-have-fun sex education, called "Sex Respect," has been developed. It teaches self control, of all things, and is currently being taught in some California schools including, for the 3rd year, Acacia Middle School in Hemet by teacher Bonnie Parks. Originally federally funded during the Reagan administration, the program has been taken over by a private company — Respect Inc., of Bradley, Illinois. "The students, mostly 12- to 13-year-olds, are relieved when they learn that they don't have to have sex," said Mrs. Parks. "The peer pressure on these kids is very strong. The media really sells these kids short by saying it is impractical to teach them abstinence as they are going to 'do it' anyway. Most students don't even know about condom failure. They think all they need is to use a condom and they are safe. It is suicidal to teach kids to use condoms. This gives them a false sense of security and doesn't deal with the emotional turmoil resulting from their choices." Contact: Mrs. Bonnie Parks, Acacia School, 1200 E. Acacia Ave., Hemet, CA 92543, 714/658-2181.

The Heritage Foundation

How Washington Boosts State and Local Budget Deficits

In *Backgrounder* No. 908, Heritage regulatory expert Andrew J.

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Cowin notes that the states now spend as much as one-fourth of their budgets on federal programs, such as the $200+ billion they will spend in the 1990s to comply with federal wastewater rules. America's domestic problems are best solved at the state and local levels, argues Cowin, especially in areas such as health, housing, and education. He explains the overt and hidden costs, waste, and inefficiencies of federal mandates and grants-in-aid and suggests ways to cut the red tape. 15 pp. Contact: Maura Valis Lint, The Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002, 202/546-4400.

Bradley Resident Scholars Program

Heritage is taking applications until November 15, 1992, for this program which enables outstanding young scholars to come to the Foundation for periods of four to 10 months to conduct research, teach seminars, deliver public lectures, and learn first-hand about the policy process. Applicants should have completed a Ph.D. or equivalent terminal degree and be committed to an academic career. The program's special interest is American political, social, and cultural institutions and their relationship to public policy. Contact: The Heritage Foundation's Academic Relations Department, 214 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002, 202/546-4400.

National Monitor of Education

Keeping Tabs on the Schools

Started 15 years ago, former teacher Betty Arras' monthly publication *National Monitor of Education* covers educational trends around the country and tracks legislation affecting schools. The June '92 issue reports on Planned Parenthood's legal efforts to remove a sex-ed course that stresses abstinence from Florida's Duval School District on the grounds that the program fails to emphasize contraception, does not deal favorably with abortion, and will exacerbate health problems — even though California's San Marcos School District, which uses the same program, has found a decrease of 86 percent in pregnancy rates among students after just three years. Contact: NME, Betty Arras, editor, P.O. Box 402, Alamo, CA 94507, 415/945-6745.

Leadership To Preserve America

Ongoing Conservative Education

Founded by Bruce Herschensohn, LPA provides speakers for college campuses and publishes the quarterly newsletter *Imperatives*. In the summer '92 issue, Sally Pipes writes on Canada's nationalized health care system and proposals to institute similar programs here, such as a recent, narrowly-defeated bill by California state Senator Nicholas Petris. Health services cost as much in Canada as in the United States, Pipes says, and the Canadian government has had to ration care, including necessary surgery. In addition, new medical technology and equipment is in short supply or simply unavailable. The article concludes with advice by Nobel Laureate Milton Friedman about sensible ideas for much needed health care reform. Contact: Leadership to Preserve America, 4790 Irvine Blvd., Ste. 105-108, Irvine, CA 92720, 714/263-0991.

Capitol Resource Institute

Budget Reform

Robert Stutzman, writing in the CRI's September *Capitol Contact* newsletter, examines the budget process reform aspects of Governor Pete Wilson's Welfare Reform Initiative, Proposition 165. Stutzman concludes that conservatives concerned about the additional powers the initiative gives California's governor should ask: what would the threat really be? "The governor will only be given power to solve a budget crisis by cutting spending, not by raising taxes." Contact: Capitol Resource Institute, 1211 "H" Street, Ste. A, Sacramento, CA 95814. 916/444-8445. CPR

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Correspondence

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one of our most serious California and national social-economic-political problems.

That the politicians won't talk about it is one indication of the dismal state of our political discourse. That the news media distort and filter the facts, and implications, is one example of the sorry state of our public information. It is much too easy to avert our eyes from disagreeable truth.

Especially in California, but also in the nation generally, the issue of excessive immigration, some of it uncontrolled, will have to be discussed in public, responsible ways sooner or later. The longer it takes, the more difficult will be any solutions.

Stanley G. Langland
Belmont

Squashing the Scouts

Harold Johnson is quite right to point out ("Corporate California Targets The Boy Scouts," *CPR*, Summer 1992) that the boycott of the Boy Scouts of America by several large California-based corporations amounts to nothing more than pushing the relativist agenda another notch further. Levi Strauss, Bank of America, Wells Fargo, and First Interstate Bank of California are now conquered ground for the powerful homosexual lobby in the ongoing "family values" controversy. While most Americans stand firmly behind the Boy Scouts of America and its morality, these corporate foundations have decided that to be "morally straight" is too much to ask.

This decision should come as no surprise, however, to those who have followed the general trend of corporations' giving patterns over the years through our annual study, *Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy*, and other publications. Due to intense pressure from gay lobbyists and radical groups such as Queer Nation and Act Up, companies have begun to focus disproportionate amounts of funding towards AIDS-related charities while the two leading causes of death, cancer and heart disease, suffer. Levi Strauss's giving reflects this imbalance. Although cancer has claimed 5 million lives in a decade, Levi Strauss in 1989 gave over $500,000 to the AIDS lob-

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Notebook

New Democrats, Old Numbers

CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATS were crowing about recent figures showing they've registered 289,000 more voters than have Republicans statewide this year, saying these new Democrats will provide the margin of victory in November for many of their candidates. But this short-term gain may be too little, too late. Since 1988 — when George Bush carried California with a 350,000-vote margin — the state GOP has racked up an overall gain of 134,000, the last-minute registration sprint by the Dems notwithstanding ....

A recent Reason Foundation survey of parents and guardians in the Los Angeles Unified School District revealed: nearly 70 percent of blacks who responded would participate in an educational voucher system. The Reason survey seems to contradict an often heard criticism of educational choice — the charge that vouchers would amount to entitlements for parents and students already living in "good" school districts ....

A Roper poll, commissioned earlier this year by Shearson Lehman Bros., asked Americans what they would do if given "all the money in the world" to fulfill their "wildest dream." Tutored in greed and selfishness throughout the rapacious '80s by Ronald Reagan, respondents said they would — give the money to charity. Only three percent would quit their jobs or retire, while 27 percent — the highest response — listed charity as the first recipient of their funds. This squares with actual behavior. In 1991, Americans gave $103.13 billion to charity, a 5.76 percent increase over '90, reports the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel Trust for Philanthropy. Shearson Lehman's Joe Plumeri said the '80s "conjure up notions of indulgence and excess" for most people, but that "the findings of this study indicate the focus is on traditional values and charity" ....

BRINGING DISMAY and consternation to eco-types, California energy officials report that those electricity-producing New Age "windmill farms" dotting the countryside in various parts of the state are killing hundreds of birds of prey, including golden eagles, that are caught in the blades or electrocuted. Though birds of prey are probably not politically correct, greenies, the *Wall Street Journal* reports, are looking for ways to stop the carnage. "They might start," the *Journal* suggests, "by comparing the recent toll from nuclear plants" ....

Pete Wilson's ultimately unsuccessful efforts to enact even more severe restrictions than already exist on logging of Redwood trees on private land received a strange coalition of supporters — and opponents. Those lining up behind the bill (AB 641) included the Planning and Conservation League; the state's largest timber company, Sierra Pacific Industries; and Frank Wells, president of Disney Company, whom the *Los Angeles Times* described as "among the most prominent voices urging lawmakers to support the proposal."

THE BILL'S *opponents* included Willie Brown and the Sierra Club, for whom it didn't go far enough, and a coalition of timber companies called the Coastal Working Group. Simpson Timber pointed out that Sierra Pacific Industries stood to profit from the bill because it would have decimated SPI's competitors while leaving SPI's logging operations (which do not involve Redwoods) largely untouched. Simpson, for instance, would have had to fire half its 500-man workforce to comply with the mandates of 641. Simpson may have dealt the bill its death blow by sending a "Family Album" to the governor and all legislators containing photos of Simpson employees and a letter asking that they "please examine the pictures and help ... identify the 200 or more of these families who will lose their their livelihood within a few months if the ... legislation passes ...." When it came up for a vote, AB 641 lost, 20 to 45. CPR

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Correspondence

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by but nothing towards fighting any form of cancer.

Internally, Levi Strauss's withdrawal of support from the Boy Scouts has troubled employees from the rural communities where most of its employees live. The company, however, plans to re-educate them through a four-day seminar, euphemistically entitled "diversity week." So much for tolerance.

Jill K. Cunningham
Research Assoc., Capital Research Center
Washington, D.C.

Responding to "The ACLU v. The Boy Scouts" (CPR, Winter 1992), Orange County attorney James G. Randall wrote Manuel S. Klausner a 5000-plus-word letter from which the following is excerpted:

"I found your comments interesting, and at the same time, it was clear that you apparently were not aware of the facts of this case nor [sic] of the applicable law regarding the issues involved .... It appears that the position that the Boy Scouts of America is a "private" organization which then can set its own membership standards or require an "oath to God" is wrong, and I am quite surprised that someone of your legal background and experience could in fact state such a proposition.

First of all, the facts of this case and the operational process of the Boy Scouts as a whole makes it clear that there is no support for a proposition that the Boy Scouts are "private." They operate in the open and on school grounds; they perform many of their functions in the open and with the public attending and participating; they receive public funding; they utilize the public media to advertise and to expand their membership, they are open to any person who meets entrance age requirements; they are not selective in their membership process — there is no similarity between the Boy Scouts and the Masons or Knights of Columbus, for example, in the membership process. One does not have to be nominated and endure a very selective application process to be accepted into the Boy Scouts, as they do in the Masons (an organization which does not receive public funding, meet on public school grounds, advertise for membership in the public media, etc.)

A quick review of the cases involving the YMCA and other organizations seeking to become classified as "private" will quickly dispel the myth that the Boy Scouts of America is some kind of "private" organization ....

As the [California Appeals] Court stated in *Curran v. Mount Diablo Council of the Boy Scouts* [1983], ... "Since the essence of a private club or organization is exclusivity in the choice of one's associates, we find this approach ensures that private organizations remain protected. However, those entities which are not in fact private must comply with the mandate of the Unruh Act."

Are the Boy Scouts "private"? Perhaps the bigger question ought to be, "Are the Boy Scouts of America and the local councils selective in the picking of its [sic] members?" The answer is clearly "no." One need only to [sic] look at the Boy Scouts' own literature to see that *all* boys are welcome in the Scouts (and now, even women are executives, den leaders, and troop leaders but young women are only allowed to be Explorer Scouts). In a document entitled, "A Representative Membership," the Scouts state:

> Our federal charter sets forth our obligation to serve boys. Neither the charter nor the bylaws of the Boy Scouts of America permits the exclusion of any boy. The National Council and Executive Board have always taken the position that Scouting should be made available for all boys who meet entrance age requirements.

You defined "private" as meaning "individual or group actions that are of the entity or of the individual and without significant involvement or support or control by the state." This definition of "private" is so vague as to be almost meaningless.

However, even within the breadth of this definition the Scouts are not "private." A look at federal statutes shows nearly 22 federal statutes that assist the Boy Scouts in one manner or another, from the very charter creating its existence and requiring annual reports to be filed with Congress to federal campsites and use of federal property and military items, such as ammunition. Boy Scouts meet on public school grounds; they receive state and county property for facilities *(i.e.,* the Orange County Council has a 30-year, rent-free agreement with the County of Orange for a Sea Base), and recent failed actions by conservative Republican lawmakers in Congress [and] in the California Legislature to take actions to assist the Boy Scouts (including a failed attempt by Assemblymember Gil Ferguson to have the Boy Scouts declared "private" by legislative fiat) make it clear that your definition does in fact define the Boy Scouts as a "public" organization ....

James Grafton Randall
Anaheim Hills

Manuel Klausner responds:

In focusing on the question whether the Boy Scouts are "unselective" in picking their members, Mr. Randall blurs the fundamental distinction between private conduct and state action. If a church opens its doors to anyone, would Mr. Randall claim that it should no longer be treated as "private" — and thus subject to governmental regulation?

Moreover, in his listing of "facts" showing why the Boy Scouts are not private, Mr. Randall points to such items as operating "in the open", "with the public attending and participating", and using the "public media to advertise and to expand their membership" — yet none of these factors involve coercion. Voluntary entities, such as churches, regularly engage in these practices and none of them are germane to the claim that the Boy Scouts should not be allowed to set their own membership standards. Receiving governmental funding would be another matter, but Mr. Randall mistakenly seems to equate voluntary public funding with state action. In the absence of material governmental aid, the Boy Scouts should be immune from the reach of governmental constraint.

The notion that the Boy Scouts are not private and can somehow be classified as a "business establishment" under the Unruh Civil Rights Act seems bizarre. As stated by Justice Mosk in his dissenting opinion in Isbister v. Boys' Club of Santa Cruz, Inc. *(Cal. 1985):*

> *The incredible concept that a private, charitably funded recreational club for boys cannot be allowed to exist as such because it is a 'business establishment' would be an irresistible subject*

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Correspondence

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for ridicule and humor if it were not so serious in its impact.

While Isbister *and several other California cases lend support to such a strained and expansive interpretation, they do so at the expense of disregarding the intent of the Legislature in passing the Unruh Act. The* original *version of the bill that ultimately became the Unruh Act was extraordinarily broad — with explicit references to "all public or private groups, organizations, associations, business establishments ... and public facilities." As Justice Mosk noted in* Isbister, *"By means of amendment, however, all groups other than 'business establishments' were eliminated. Specifically stricken was reference to 'private groups' and 'associations.'"*

Had the Legislature intended that the Unruh Act apply to groups such as the BoyScouts, it would not have referred to "business establishments" in the final version of the statute — at the least, the word "business" would also have been deleted along with the references to "private groups" and "organizations."

With the ACLU of Southern California leading the charge, Mr. Randall and his sons prevailed in the trial court, relying not on the language of the Unruh Act, but on overly-broad and mistaken precedents. Significantly, other courts have rejected such an approach. For example, a federal court recently turned down the assertion that the Boy Scouts qualify as a "place of entertainment" or "public accommodation" under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The court recognized the right of the Boy Scouts to deny membership to agnostics and atheists. Welsh v. Boy Scouts of America, *(N.D.Ill. 1992). Ruling in favor of the Boy Scouts' associational rights,* Welsh *concluded that "[T]he Boy Scouts may select its own membership, according to its own criteria and conscience."*

In this post-Rose Bird era, the Lucas court should revisit the text and legislative history of the Unruh Act. Instead of condoning "judicial legislation," the California Supreme Court should repudiate the precedents that inappropriately expand the scope of the act to categories specifically eliminated by the Legislature in 1959. Neither Mr. Randall nor the ACLU should take pride in using the banner of "civil rights" to expand the role of the state over the membership policies of essentially private groups. CPR

Commentary

Misreporting the Politics of Abortion

WHAT MAKES the abortion issue so baffling for reporters? It's become standard practice to report, first, that abortion will prove decisive in deciding elections and, second, that a prolife position is a loser. Both notions are plainly false as every passing election attests. (Bruce Herschensohn's defeat of Tom Campbell was among the most recent examples.)

Los Angeles Times reporter Bill Stall managed to combine the two mistakes in a report on the state Republican Party's recent convention. Stall dismissed GOP state Chairman Jim Dignan's argument that most voters are far more concerned about the economy than about abortion. Instead, he devoted almost every line of his 16-inch account to describing a pro-abortion press conference called in the GOP hotel by Democrat state Chairman Phil Angelides and a nearby protest gathering of 11 Republican women unhappy with what they called "the Republican Party's extreme position against the right to choose." Admittedly, it takes admirable sand for an 11-member sliver group to try tagging the thousands of Republicans inside the convention as the "extreme" but, then, if you can sucker big city reporters into writing it up, why not go for it?

In fact, it's the abortion on demand position that falls off the deep end of extremism, if the context is American public opinion, while the center is held by those favoring abortion restrictions, including those endorsed in the notorious "Sanctity of Life" section of the Republican platform. Mr. Stall neglected to quote any part of the platform section in question. So, if you don't know what it says, hold onto your seats. This is what passes for "extremism" at the *Times* these days:

- The state Republican platform calls for: "the reversal of *Roe v. Wade*, which would restore to the states the right to determine the issue of abortion" — a January 1992 national poll taken by The Wirthlin Group reports that a plurality of 48 to 41 percent of Americans support overturning *Roe* when told that that would allow state legislatures to limit abortion (asked cold, the plurality for overturning is 43 to 41 percent.)
- The platform supports: "the law passed by the California Legislature requiring minors to receive parental consent before having an abortion" — Wirthlin reports that *80 percent* of Americans favor a one-parent requirement for girls under 18.
- The platform supports: "legislation that would prevent the discriminatory practice of abortion for sex selection" — a 1991 Gallup poll reported that *91 percent* of Americans disapprove of sex selection abortions.
- The platform supports: "continuing the federal policy that denies tax funding for abortion-dependent fetal transplant experiments" — Wirthlin

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Sacramento Spectator

Fasten Your Seatbelts . . . .

THE MUDDLED, confusing signals given by the Pete Wilson administration continue to baffle even the most astute minds in Sacramento. Ask either friend or foe of the governor what is going on in his office/mind/staff and you will see them shake their heads and walk away muttering to themselves.

The two main sources of consternation are Wilson's penchant for reversing course on any given issue on any given day and his continual unprovoked initiation of hostilities with GOP conservatives.

On the first point, Wilson paddles on both sides of the political canoe on business, environmental, and social issues (such as the so-called "Gay Rights" bill). His staffing of regulatory agencies is right out of an "earth first" handbook, having appointed many liberal Democrats to executive positions. His head of the state Resources Agency has said that, when it comes to "protecting" the environment, "no action is too extreme, and no government fund is too large."

Yet, this same Pete Wilson weeps crocodile tears at the exodus of job-producing businesses from California and appears before chambers of commerce to excoriate the Democrats for California's anemic business climate. His "special legislative session" on Workers' Compensation reform was a political ploy from the get go. He had the leverage to force action on Workers' Comp during budget negotiations, last year *and* this year, but lacked the gumption to use it. He seems to prefer trashing conservatives.

WHICH BRINGS us to the second matter. During the recent GOP state convention in Los Angeles, the media was all agog at party discord over its new platform. The main bone of contention — in fact the *only* discordant note — arose from the abortion issue. When prolifers added a mild "sanctity of life" section to the draft platform, the media played it as a "showdown" between Wilson and the "religious right."

The facts were much, much different. First, as just mentioned, abortion was the *only* issue causing any real disagreement. Second — the key point the media did not report — conservatives were willing from the beginning to adopt an abortion plank much milder than the national GOP platform language. In fact, conservatives sought to keep the anti-abortion language moderate and inoffensive to all but the most fevered feminist and abortion-profiteer. Wilson and his gang would have none of it.

At one point during a particularly contentious session at the convention, several of Wilson's staff yuppies who had been complaining about the proposed plank's "extreme" language were asked if they had actually *read* it. The response was blank stares.

WILSON'S AGENDA had less to do with real issues than with his desire to make conservatives look bad and to define anyone who disagrees with him on any issue as part of the "religious right."

His actions are self-defeating, with serious consequences for his own re-election hopes in 1994. The self-centeredness and unnecessary harshness of Wilson's internal party positions are becoming clear even to genuine "moderates." They can see it's Wilson — not the conservatives — initiating the divisiveness. In addition, the slaughter of moderates in the June primaries by a coalition of conservatives insures that the next GOP state Central Committee will be even more solidly conservative than the current one.

It is truly sad. Pete Wilson, Bob White (Wilson's chief of staff), and a few blow-dried, tassle-loafered yuppie Wilson sycophants are single-handedly attempting to tear the California Republican Party apart. Ironically, the "moderates" are acting in an extreme and irresponsible way. And the conservatives — including some of the *most* conservative — are trying to find common ground and keep the party together.

Wilson, White, *et al.*, are still stinging from the rejection of their primary candidates. But their bitterness is sowing dangerous seeds ... seeds that could turn into serpents' teeth come '94. As Betty Davis says in *All About Eve:* "Fasten your seatbelts ... it's going to be a bumpy ride."

— A.P.C.

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reports: 63 percent of Americans oppose using tax dollars to fund research that involves transplanting tissue from aborted human fetuses.

• The platform supports: "no taxpayer funding for programs terminating life of the pre-born or the mentally handicapped or for organizations that advocate or support abortion" — the polls did not ask this specific question, but Gallup reported 66 percent of Americans disapprove of abortions for financial reasons even in the case of a low-income woman for whom another child would create a heavy financial burden.

• The platform supports: "providing women who are considering abortion adequate information about risks and alternatives so that, as with other medical procedures, they can give true and informed consent" — Wirthlin reports that *85 percent* of Americans favor "informed consent" — requiring women to receive information about fetal development and alternatives to abortion before going ahead with the procedure.

• The platform supports: "the existence of pregnancy counseling centers throughout California that have provided invaluable assistance to pregnant women with material and financial as well as much needed emotional support, all without the use of any taxpayer funding, thus providing women with a private sector alternative when facing a crisis pregnancy." Does *anyone* oppose this position?

AS FOR the essential questions — Does abortion kill a human being? Should it be illegal? — the "extremist" Republican platform ventures no opinion, but, again, most Americans turn out to be prolife. Gallup: *77 percent* of Americans believe abortion, at a minimum, takes a human life. Wirthlin: 53 percent of Americans support abortion in three or fewer cases: rape, incest, or to save the life of the mother. In other words, 53 percent of the people support a position that would ban all but less than five percent of all abortions. Only 11 percent favor abortion on demand. So who's an extremist? And who's lying? CPR

The Protracted Conflict *At Home*

Adapting to Fashionable Social Hostility

Koppel, Donahue, and Time-Warner Help Americans Get Used to Murder

David Horowitz

AS SCHOOL opened in Massachusetts this fall, a 21-year-old MIT aeronautics major from Norway named Yngve Raustein was walking down a Cambridge street when he was jumped by three teenagers from Cambridge's only high school. The youths battered Raustein to the ground and then, while he was prone, one of them stabbed him to death.

It turned out the motive was not robbery. The three youths were "playing a game" called "knockout." The idea was to see if you could knock out a stranger with one punch. If you couldn't, your buddies would try to knock you out. Of course there was another dimension involved here — one might call it an element of fashionable social hostility. The high school the youths attended was on the other side of town from MIT. They had evidently gone out of their way to pick suitable victims. And the fatal stabbing was itself gratuitous.

In the aftermath, friends of the killer, a 16-year-old named Shon McHugh, shrugged off the murder to newspaper reporters. The victim, they said, was "just one MIT guy" and "people get killed every day." The Middlesex County D.A., among others, was stunned by such comments. "I've never seen anything like it," he said. "What distresses me the most is their attitudes, which seem to accept or trivialize the murder of an innocent individual."

But then, we as a society have become accustomed to trivializing the murder of innocents. When Ted Koppel featured a Crip gangster named "Li'l Monster" — also the killer of an innocent youth — on *Nightline* and in-

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terviewed him about his "solutions" to L.A.'s problems, he and ABC were trivializing murder.

WHEN TIME-WARNER produces a record calling for the murder of policemen, and Whoopi Goldberg invites the songwriter Ice T on her talk show with the express purpose of showing what a good guy he is and dispelling any public opprobrium that might darken his public persona as a result of what he has done — that is trivializing murder.

When Phil Donahue invites Sister Souljah — a "raptivist" who has publicly called for the killing of whites — to sit on his PBS panel on Race, and when *LA Times* reporter Robert Scheer fawns on her in the current *Playboy* as a provocative spokesman on black issues, they are trivializing race hatred and incitement to murder and contributing to an atmosphere in which such crimes can only be expected to increase.

But then these attitudes have become so commonplace in our culture that nobody even seems to notice them anymore. The official term used on Los Angeles radio station KPFK for the Los Angeles riot, in which black citizens vented a racist rage that destroyed nearly a thousand Korean businesses and killed 58 people, is "rebellion." As in "morally justified." The Crip gangsters accused of trying to murder truck driver Reginald Denny are referred to on the same station as "the Los Angeles Four" — victims themselves of a racist society. The TV sitcom *Doogie Howser* finished with this message: "A riot is at bottom the language of the unheard." That's a funny prescription for a democracy. More like an encouragement to civil war.

Nobody seems to want to talk about this war. Yet its signs are all around us. Louis Farrakhan preaches it, incites it, raises the expectations of his followers for its imminent arrival. Yet the Los Angeles City Council has just hired Farrakhan's army as a "security" force in a black neighborhood, where it can recruit more soldiers for its crusade against whites. That is trivializing murders to come.

Meanwhile, in Hollywood, the cinematic bomb-thrower, Spike Lee, has already made one celebrated film justifying communal violence. (Strange how nobody seems to notice what a remarkable prefiguration of the L.A. riots Lee's earlier film, *Do the Right Thing*, actually was. It featured an incident between blacks and the police leading to the burning of a non-black neighborhood store. And nobody wants to speculate about its role as an *incitement* to the same.) Now Spike Lee has been given $40 million to make a two-and-a-half hour epic about a man who preached anti-white racism and violence. Lee's *X*, which opens with the burning of the American flag, will be released next month, but we don't really have to wait to see what its impact will be. Under Lee's commercial imprint, *X* has become a black fashion. Black teenagers all over America can be seen sporting *X* hats and *X* T-shirts with the prophet's message: *By Any Means Necessary.*

AND WE do not have to wait — while Lee is showered with all the accolades that a culture can grant — to discover what this message means to angry young blacks in the nation's inner cities, or to see whether they will act on what they have been told. CPR

The Price of Socialism

Lambs, Wolves, and Bureaucrats

Among the Faithful at a Proposition 99 Celebration

John Kurzweil

I ATTENDED several sessions of the California Department of Health Services three-day "Revolt Against Tobacco" conference in Los Angeles at the end of September. It was a considerable event, with participation by the American Cancer Society, the American Lung Association, county and city health departments from around the state, Sacramento lobbyists, political activists, doctors, nurses, social workers, and lots of state and local bureaucrats. It made an interesting mix. Most of those attending gave every appearance of being sin-

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cerely and singularly interested in reducing tobacco use to the greatest extent possible and, thus, reducing the terrible diseases its use causes. But these good-hearted souls were by no means the only people on hand.

PROPOSITION 99, the initiative that raised tobacco taxes passed by California voters in 1988, brought about the sudden transfer of hundreds of millions of tax dollars from the private economy to the state, accompanied by a vague mandate that it be used to help pay (as well as reduce) the public health costs of tobacco use. It was one of a relatively new breed of initiatives that go considerably beyond specific changes in specific laws. Proposition 99, like Proposition 65 (the so-called "toxics" initiative) in 1986, and, later, Proposition 103 (giving California an Insurance Czar and, purportedly, rolling back insurance rates), not only brought about specific changes (increasing the cigarette tax by 25 cents per pack) but was also designed to set all sorts of state-sponsored activity in motion that would continue for years to come — a sort of institutionalized revolution paid for by tax dollars. These initiatives have been, for the most part, the handiwork of Tom Hayden, his friends, such as Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly (the godfather of Proposition 99), or his rivals, like Harvey Rosenfield (Proposition 103). They all aim to establish long-term, large-scale programs operating to reshape the lives of large numbers of people.

Like most socialist undertakings, Proposition 99 appeals to the altruistic side in many people. At one conference session I attended, for instance, titled "Magnet Events: Pulling People Together," Charlene Allert, program director of the San Diego Hall of Champions Sports Museum, discussed the thoroughly positive events her group organizes. One brings together thousands of local kids on Super Bowl Sunday in Balboa Park for a kind of all-day sports fair. It features basketball games, tennis, booths with players from the San Diego Padres, Chargers, and Soccers who meet the kids and sign autographs, lots of food donated by Oscar Meyer, Pepsi Cola, Carl's Jr., and Domino's Pizza, and, the main event, large screen TVs (supplied by the city and county), showing the Super Bowl game.

THE EVENT'S theme was "Say Yes to Sports; Say No to Tobacco," and, without overshadowing the Super Bowl theme, the message that sports and good health don't go with tobacco was conveyed through posters, banners, T-shirts, and literature.

Another speaker, Willie Edwards, director of the Alpine County Health Department's Tobacco Control Program, while discussing similar activities he's helped organize, said he made it a rule not to say "don't smoke," but, instead, to say "make a healthy choice. This keeps us out of the smokers' rights issue" — a desire to avoid conflict and to keep things positive that marked him, along with the Charlene Allerts and most of the other conference attendees, as one of the ... well, call them Proposition 99 Lambs, in contrast to the two other species predominating at the conference: the Health Bureaucrats and the Prop. 99 Wolves.

Unlike the Lambs, the Health Bureaucrats don't talk much about hard work to obtain donations of time, supplies, and money from private citizens and businesses (the subject that took up much of Charlene Allert's Super Bowl presentation). Rather, they go into great detail, usually in a mood of considerable anguish, recounting tales of the Sacramento budget battle, replete with stories of their naive trust and of shameful betrayal, usually at the hands of the Wilson Administration which one day, they say, promises to shower cash on anti-tobacco programs, only to weasel out the next, trying to divert the promised lucre to public education or some other powerful special interest. For the Health Bureaucrats, the lesson of Proposition 99 is: never lighten the pressure on the governor or the Legislature or you'll be stampeded aside and lose out on the funds.

THE SMALLEST contingent, but also the most easily recognizable, were the Proposition 99 Wolves. This breed bears familiar spots and can be observed at the heart of any serious anti-business political movement. Whether the villain is Big Oil, the Timber Industry, General Motors, or the Telephone Company, these wolves look, sound, and act pretty much the same. As soon as Dr. Bob Olson, for instance, chairman of the Monterey Anti-Tobacco Coalition, began his closing presentation of the "Magnet Events" session, it was plain that the tone had shifted starkly.

He began by passing out a packet of news clips with a cover sheet titled: "Using Protests to Eliminate Tobacco Sponsorship of Magnet Events." Inside was an "Open Letter" from his group "to the Sports Car Racing Association of the Monterey Peninsula (SCAMP)" that had apparently appeared in local newspapers. "Why Does SCAMP Accept Drug Money?" it began, going on to condemn Marlboro's sponsorship of racing events at Laguna Seca.

Olson said his group's objectives were, one, to reduce sales of tobacco to underage youths, two, to reduce to-

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bacco promotion of local community events, three, to strengthen local smoking control ordinances, and, four, to raise public awareness of the tactics of the tobacco industry. Informing people of the dangers of smoking was rather conspicuously absent from the list.

ONE OF his techniques, Olson said, was to send underage kids into tobacco company-sponsored events, such as the Blues Festival or an Hispanic fair called *El Grito*, have them buy cigarettes, and then report to the media how easily it can be done.

Another approach, which his group had employed often, was to rent a booth at an event and bring in a group of youngsters ostensibly to help run it, then send them over to congregate wherever tobacco was being sold, and, on cue, have them strip off their outer shirts to display T-shirts underneath bearing anti-tobacco slogans while they distribute anti-smoking literature to the crowd. In stark contrast to Mr. Edwards' desire to avoid confrontation over the smokers' rights issue, here the point is precisely to embarrass people and to stir up conflict.

Thus, Proposition 99 has already reproduced all the classic elements of socialist enterprises everywhere: the "Human Face" of Charlene Allert and Willie Edwards; the short-sightedness and grubbing of the bureaucrats who will eventually find ways to choke out every spontaneous or creative impulse involved; and the opportunistic wolves who ride every one of these programs to come along like hobby horses, for whom the primary appeal is that they promise a good fight and provide a chance to wield power and to feel morally superior to the rest of humanity. For these people, power is like an opiate. Bob Olson bore a look nearly approaching ecstasy toward the end of his talk as he related how "just another five cent increase in the cigarette tax" would bring hundreds of millions of dollars with which "we" could "buy out every tobacco company sponsorship" of events in the state.

Of course, almost everything the Lambs do could and would go on in one form or another without the state being involved. They don't need socialism and, to the extent that they fall into the habit of relying on government support, it will corrupt them, changing them more into bureaucrats or wolves or both. Socialism does not exist for them but, rather, for the others who alone need the power of the state to carry on.

I RECOMMEND ATTENDING one of these or some similar gathering to anyone who has the chance to do so. It is instructive to learn the kinds of things our taxes are supporting. CPR

The Private Sector

Heroes From the Other Side

What Makes Some People Do Such Remarkable Things?

Gregory Sanford

WHEN HE was a boy, Harold M. Schulweis says, he experienced a "vicarious triumph" watching film of boxer Joe Lewis's second heavyweight championship fight with Max Schmelling in 1938. Lewis made up for Schmelling's victory in their first meeting by pummeling the well-known German, defeating him in the first round. Lewis's triumph took on the trappings of a moral crusade for Americans half a century ago. Billed as "the Aryan," Schmelling was seen as a symbol of Nazism, as the devil's stand-in. Lewis's victory became a symbolic thrashing of evil by good.

"Recently," Schulweis said, "it was revealed that Max Schmelling hid two Jewish kids — whom I knew because they became head waiters in San Francisco —

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during Kristallnacht, five months after that fight with Joe Lewis. I noticed that the next time I saw the fight, it had lost its glamour for me. No longer a demon, Schmelling was a human being."

NOW RABBI at Valley Beth Shalom in Encino, California, Harold Schulweis has learned a good deal about Christian men and women who risked their lives during the 1930s and 1940s in Europe saving Jews from the Nazis. In 1962, he organized a group called The Institute for Righteous Acts with the purpose of studying the characteristics of the altruistic personality. Some 20 years later, he founded The Jewish Foundation for Christian Rescuers which today seeks out Christians and other non-Jews who rescued Jews during the 12 years of the Holocaust to recognize, aid, and honor as many of them as possible.

"We have so far identified 1,000 such rescuers in a dozen or so European countries and in Israel," he told me. "Most of the scholars estimate that they numbered between 50,000 and 500,000. It is difficult to enumerate them exactly because of the question of definition: what do you mean by a 'rescuer'? If I gave you a piece of bread or a lift in a car, are you a rescuer? In Poland, for example, it is very clear that that was a crime which could lead to your death."

Once he began looking, Rabbi Schulweis began finding rescuers of every description and variety. Jan and Miep Geis helped protect Anne Frank and her family, kept Anne's diary safe after the Franks were discovered, and, after the war, returned it to Otto Frank, Anne's father and the sole surviving member of the family.

A Portuguese consul in Bordeaux, France, the former Turkish consul of Rhodes, and the Japanese consul in Kovno, Lithuania, each acting independently, saved thousands of Jews by issuing visas, often in defiance of their own governments, and by other actions that allowed many to escape. The French village of *Le Chambon-sur-Lignon* resisted the Nazis throughout the war, hiding 5,000 Jews, mostly children, all of whom survived.

POLISH CHRISTIANS Anna and Jan Pulchalski hid four Jews for 17 months during 1943-44, first in a potato cellar and later under the floor boards of their home, all the while keeping the Nazis convinced that nothing out of the ordinary was happening. Felix Zandman, a survivor who now lives in Philadelphia said, "In our Torah it says that man is made in the image of God. For me, the Pulchalskis are such people."

There were many others — a Dutch Christian woman, the Red Cross's representative in Budapest, a Polish shopkeeper and his wife, two orphans (one 16 years old, the other only six), a career officer in the Slovak Defense Ministry, a nun in charge of a convent — all put their careers, their freedom, and their lives on the line to save innocent people whom, for the most part, they barely knew.

"I started the Institute for Righteous Acts," Schulweis said, "to find out why certain people do these remarkable things. At the time, there was nothing to speak of being done in that field."

For a while, he found little interest in his idea. The University of California, Berkeley, for instance, wanted only to look into the authoritarian personality or to study anti-Semites. There was some fear that talk about rescuers would unintentionally aid the cause of revisionist historians who deny that the Holocaust occurred at all, or say it was far less terrible than it was — that the "gas" chambers were really fumigation chambers, and so forth.

BUT IN addition, Schulweis believes it is relatively hard for people to deal with goodness. Considered from a distance of both time and miles, evil is much easier to confront. "It sounds strange, but it is really true," he said. "Compared to Himmler or Eichmann, I'm a saint. But when I started to meet these other people, I asked myself whether I would be willing to jeopardize my life and that of my family by taking into my home someone being pursued by a totalitarian. Goodness can carry a sort of accusation: would you do this?"

Nonetheless, Schulweis's Foundation is doing well, continuing to search out the rescuers, provide them financial aid (since many are in dire straights) and making a public point of recognizing the good that they did and that they represent. A Foundation pamphlet says of them: "They teach us that, even in the hell of the Holocaust, each human being has the ability to act humanely."

That spark of goodness is the basis for hope that evil can be overcome, which is why, the Rabbi told me, "we need moral heroes in our society and particularly what I call heroes from the other side." He mentioned the L.A. riots, "when the black man helped protect a white guy from the rioters. Blacks need white heroes. Whites need black heroes. Jews need Christian heroes. Christians need Jewish heroes. That is humanizing."

Heroes from the other side; heroes like Max Schmelling. CPR

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How the Media Makes People Paranoid

A university study found that people who depend primarily on the media for their knowledge of the world are more paranoid than the rest of us. Is anyone surprised?

by Paul Ciotti

WHEN I LIVED in Berkeley in the mid-seventies, I read three papers a day: *The San Francisco Herald Examiner, Chronicle* and *Oakland Tribune.* I was so anxious for the news I would wake up in the morning, jump out of bed and slip out onto my front porch naked to get the paper. I'd hurry back inside, rip it open, and read it standing over the floor heater in the foyer. Let me tell you: it's a terrible thing in the morning to take the morning news and blithely let it soak into your brain cells. You might as well inject battery acid through your ear canal. When you first wake up, your mental defenses are still down. You're open, vulnerable. It's a time of day to think about life, the universe, the wonder, tragedy, and beauty of it all — not drive-by shootings, child molestations, wife battering, date rapes, racial hatred, and disasters of every persuasion.

Maybe it was because I lived alone, but in those days I craved the news so badly that when I didn't have it I found it left me feeling anxious and adrift. I remember once I went hiking in the Sierras for eight days. As I was coming down the mountain, I could see a little log cafe at the foot of the hill with a newspaper rack on the front porch. My heart was in my throat: "What happened while I was out of touch???" I was so nervous my fingers shook as I dropped my quarter in the coin slot. And yet, the news hadn't changed. It was the same news I'd read all my life — all that changed were the names and places.

Eventually I realized it's irrational to think you have to keep up with the news. You might as well try to keep up with the Mississippi River. News is a stream you can fish in at any time, albeit a polluted one.

A few years ago I heard about a university study that found that people who depend primarily on the media for their knowledge of the world are more paranoid than the rest of us. Well, this certainly came as no surprise for those of us who read the *New York Times, Washington Post,* or *Los Angeles Times.* Their wide circulation and many merits not withstanding, these papers simply do not share the deepest needs and assumptions of many of their readers. That's why they make so many readers feel depressed and irritable, lost in some miasmic cloud of free-floating anomie, certain only of two things: society in general is going down the tubes and people who think as they do are an endangered species.

THE REASON, I think, is that these papers aren't written so much for the average person as for people who live in select enclaves, serve kiwi over their mesquite-broiled shark, consider "conservative" a synonym for fascist, and wouldn't vote Republican if their T-cell count depended on it. As a psychiatrist once told me in a moment of keen psychological insight, the purpose of the front page of papers like the *Los Angeles Times* is to make liberals feel good about themselves.

And this, I think, is why liberals like them so much. Such papers confirm their deepest hopes and aspirations: history is on their side, all well-meaning people agree with them, and

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the right people are everywhere in charge (or at least will be after the next election).

BUT THE problem goes well beyond the institutional bias of editors and reporters. What with fiber optics, satellite dishes, and instant on-the-scene videocams, anytime a disaster happens anywhere in the world, modern technology has the power to put the gory details on the front page of the daily newspaper. So you stumble out onto your doorstep, innocently pick up the paper and suddenly discover "My God, there's been an earthquake in Hunan Province, a flash flood in Arkansas, a mine cave-in in West Virginia." You can't read that sort of stuff day after day, the first thing in the morning, as you're standing there sleepy eyed with your mind in neutral, without suffering the consequences.

Front page newspaper stories have virtually no shelf life. Their primary value (perhaps their only value) is that they contain news. But that is a vastly different thing from containing understanding or wisdom.

And not necessarily on account of the disaster itself. People can cope with reading about distant disasters without going all to pieces. It's the media imperative to get the news on the wire as soon as possible that is so devastating to the readership. And it's not just newspapers. I remember once 16 years ago driving down the Bayshore Freeway near Berkeley listening to the radio and all of a sudden an anxious announcer interrupted the music for "a special news flash." The tone of her voice was so keen and tremulous my heart began to race. The urgent news for which she deemed it so important to interrupt the music and scare 50,000 motorists half to death? — that "the rift between Isabelita Peron and her generals has widened into a split." I was so angry I wanted to firebomb the station and vaporize her brain cells before she jumped on the air to announce a smog alert or poison ivy infestation.

But that's what being in the news business does to people. Reporters live and die by the first edition, the evening news, the Sunday morning political talk shows. They consider politics the most important thing on the planet. They worship power so much it affects their judgment. They turn into courtiers, political jock sniffers, totally dependent on the president whether they respect him or not.

I remember when John Hinckley shot President Reagan, Vice President Bush was out of town and the White House press corps was frantic. They kept demanding — "Who's minding the store?" Even though they profoundly disliked Reagan to a man, they had this notion in their minds that the country was like a 747 and the president was the pilot. If he was ever incapacitated, the country could crash and burn. Hence their frantic demand to know who was minding the store.

As it turned out, no one was minding the store. It was a dumb metaphor to begin with. The country was not a country store, nor was it a 747 which would crash and burn if our national father figure, the president, wasn't sitting at the controls. The truth is, very few people (outside news reporters) look to the president for leadership in their daily lives. To stay with the aviation metaphor, the country isn't so much a 747 as 240 million private planes piloted by an equal number of individual citizens making their own decisions about which way to fly, how fast, and at what altitude.

EVEN SO, the reporters' anxious questions scared Al Haig enough that he ran up the stairs and (disregarding the constitutional provisions for presidential succession) incorrectly told the reporters that *he* was in charge. Afterward, the press went wild accusing Haig (who is no rocket scientist) of trying to stage a palace coup. But the truth was far more mundane — Haig was just trying to calm a jumpy bunch of reporters and, through them, what he perceived (incorrectly as it turns out) to be a jumpy country too.

I have never figured out whether reporters start out more naturally neurotic than other people or whether it's the kind of work they do that makes them act that way. As a former newspaper reporter myself, I know one thing: rarely do you ever have enough time to do your work well. So when, as a reader, you come across a story that leaves you with a feeling of vague unease, one reason might be that the reporter who wrote the story only had enough time to make one 20-minute call and three other five-minute calls before being forced by the pressure of deadline to pound out his first take and put it on the wire. That doesn't give even the most competent re-

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porter much time for reflection or understanding. And when there's no time to think, reporters have to rely on experience, which is to say, they have to fit the facts into the nearest convenient pigeonhole. No wonder so many news stories leave readers feeling uneasy, frustrated, and confused. The news as generally reported has barely passed through human hands, let alone human minds.

WE DIDN'T always live this way. In the days before television, radio, or daily papers, people got their news directly from their friends and neighbors over the backyard fence, in a pub, a meeting hall, around the fireplace after dinner before bed. It might not have been accurate in all the details. It was gravely limited in scope. But it was always accurate emotionally, which is to say it was profoundly human. It had the benefit of having been filtered through a human mind, placed in a context, weighted, and judged.

None of that is true anymore. Turn on the news and you are likely to hear someone saying "A high administration official today said ..." And you can fill in the blank from there. What are you supposed to do with such news? When someone says a "high administration official," are you to assume this is someone with the ear of the president annunciating official policy? Or does it just mean that some undersecretary of state, after a couple of drinks one night, high over the Atlantic on his way back from Europe on Air Force One, wandered back into the press section for some informal chit-chat and is now as surprised as anyone to see his casual, semi-drunken observations passed off as a possible shift in administration policy on the front page of the *New York Times?*

The notion that most nightly news is neither important nor relevant strikes many people as a shocking heresy, including my own in-laws, for whom watching the nightly news is a civic responsibility, like jury duty and registering to vote. The notion that my wife and I might deliberately choose not to watch the news or read the morning paper strikes them, I am sure, as foolishness at best and distressing self-deception at worst. But they are hardly the only ones. When I recently told a USC public information officer what the thesis for this article was, his first reaction was typical: "So ignorance is bliss, huh?" Well no, that wasn't what I was trying to say at all. Ignorance is not bliss. What I object to is the notion that watching TV and reading the daily paper has any relationship with the alleviation of ignorance. You don't cure ignorance by reading the paper. The stories on the front page are almost invariably too hastily assembled, undigested, out of context. If you doubt that, try reading last week's newspaper. Better yet, try, as I once did in journalism school, to read a whole book composed of the greatest newspaper stories every written — the Armenian Genocide, the sinking of the Titanic, the attack on Pearl Harbor — in short, stories that, when they first appeared, left the nation deeply moved or overjoyed or gravely shaken.

What you will find is that even the acknowledged greatest news stories ever written now appear strangely flat, tepid, and difficult to finish. To say it in another way, front page newspaper stories have virtually no shelf life. Their primary value (perhaps their only value) is that they contain news. But that is a vastly different thing from containing understanding or wisdom.

If you take the position, as I do, that the universe is a cold, uncaring place and we are insignificant specks on a smallish planet revolving around an undistinguished sun in one arm of an ordinary spiral galaxy in an unimaginably large and incomprehensible universe, then for our own psychological health, we need stories that help us make sense out of this — not existential off-the-wall brickbats that make us feel even smaller and more helpless than we already are.

When a reporter writes a story, it's not enough for him just to uncover the facts, he also has to put them together in a way that makes moral sense, which is to say the story implies, however indirectly, that whatever happens, happens for a reason — that there is an order to the universe that, however subtly, rewards good and punishes evil.

These are not things you can get from the daily paper. At a minimum you need to read the more thoughtful magazines and books, see plays, read poetry, watch films, even (God forbid) read the Bible. But looking for insights, let alone eternal truths, in newspaper stories is like searching for diamonds in a sewage disposal plant. There might be one or two in there, but considering what you have to put yourself through in the meantime, it's not worth the trouble.

IN 1967, WHEN I was flying coastal patrols with the U.S. Navy in the Gulf of Tonkin, I used to subscribe to the *New York Times.* They sent the papers by ship, individually rolled up in plastic and kept dry with desiccant chips. By the time I got the paper it was two months old. Which didn't bother me. I would find myself a deck chair by the Officers' Club swimming pool,

(Please turn to page 34)

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SHOULD CONSERVATIVES SUPPORT GEORGE BUSH?

A California Political Review Round Table Discussion

ROBERT NAYLOR, MANUEL S. KLAUSNER, BARBARA KEATING-EDH,
ERROL SMITH, STEVEN HAYWARD, STEVE BALDWIN, HUGH HEWITT

ROBERT NAYLOR

Republican leader of the California Assembly, 1982-1984, and chairman of the Republican Party of California, 1987-1989

A Conservative's Nightmare — On January 20, 1993, President Bill Clinton takes his oath of office in front of a somber George Bush, and in the first 100 days:

- signs a major tax increase on the "wealthy" with top brackets at 45 percent — the lowest he could get from the newly energized liberal leadership of Congress,
- announces agreement with that same leadership that the North American Free Trade Agreement should be renegotiated,
- fulfills his promise to appoint Mario Cuomo to the Supreme Court seat vacated by Byron White,
- signs legislation barring the hiring of substitute workers during strikes,
- proposes in his first budget to fund a major federal aid to education program using money gained by terminating the Strategic Defense Initiative,
- signs legislation supported by the Trial Lawyers Association adopting as federal law the most liberal product liability rules from the era of the Rose Bird court,
- initiates a massive federal hiring program for physicians and nurses to work in hundreds of new clinics — all financed by a new seven percent payroll tax on small employers and a more modest surcharge on the few big businesses that still provide medical benefits to their workers.

In his first year in office President Clinton takes credit for a robust economic recovery which his chief economic advisor, Derek Shearer, privately admits was founded on the patient, politically selfless policy of the Bush administration to squeeze out inflation, expand foreign trade, and forego "quick fix" solutions that would have undermined the long term benefits of the recovery. At the end of President Clinton's first year in office polls show that the "Reagan Democrats" and the young voters who had been attracted to the Republican Party in the '80s are switching back to the Democrat Party in a massive realignment. At least some political scientists believe it will rival the Roosevelt realignment of 1932, ending the era of "divided government" of the '70s and '80s.

My fellow conservative friends (and my pro-choice Republican friends as well): if you are still feeling a little peeved that George Bush "caved" on the 1990 tax and budget deal or ended Desert Storm too soon or is not perfect on the abortion issue, think how peeved you will be in 1995 if this nightmare has come to pass because you failed to provide your strong support. George Bush is a fundamentally decent man who has learned some hard lessons and is poised to give the American public what it desperately needs: four years of straight talk and hard solutions — unencumbered by re-election politics. We need to give him that chance.

MANUEL S. KLAUSNER

Co-founding editor of Reason *magazine, Klausner still remembers, with pride, his vote for John Hospers for president in 1972.*

Vote for Bush? Marrou in '92!

I see absolutely no reason for any Californian committed to the values of personal liberty and the free market to vote for Bush this November unless *at least two conditions* occur:

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At the end of President Clinton's first year in office, polls show that the "Reagan Democrats" and the young voters who had been attracted to the Republican Party in the '80s are switching back to the Democrat Party in a massive realignment.

— Robert Naylor

... rather than wasting a vote on Bush — who appears likely to lose California by a landslide — my advice is to vote for Marrou for president.

— Manuel S. Klausner

George Bush deserves to lose. A Bush victory would suggest it is possible to do nearly everything wrong and still win. It will allow the Republican Party to become still more flabby than it already is.

— Steven Hayward

Look, he made a bad deal with Congress. Fine. But oppose the debit side of the ledger with the plus side: Clarence Thomas; Panama; veto after veto of crazy Democrat bills; Desert Storm; the North American Free Trade Agreement; maybe even a Middle East peace accord. End of argument.

— Hugh Hewitt

(a) the vote in the electoral college will be so close that California's 45 electoral votes will be pivotal; and

(b) the vote in California will be a cliffhanger.

Even if the first condition may be present this year, a late surge for Bush that will make the race close in California is unlikely. Accordingly, *rather than wasting a vote on Bush* — who appears likely to lose California by a landslide — my advice is to vote for Marrou for president.

Voting for Marrou has a larger impact than a vote for Bush — in part because Bush, while losing California, will get a lot of votes anyway, compared with a much smaller turnout for Marrou. One vote out of, say, 100,000 is marginally more significant than one of more than 1,000,000 votes. More meaningfully, in contrast to a Bush vote, a vote for a Libertarian is an *unambiguous message* to get the government out of our wallets and off our backs.

A vote for Marrou is a vote you can cast with *pride* — and you will still feel good the next morning! As the Socialist Party has shown, even a party that never wins a national election can have a profound influence on the direction of the political debate and on public policy. If there were ever an election where it makes sense to vote Libertarian, this is it! Marrou in '92!

BARBARA KEATING-EDH

Republican nominee in California's 25th Assembly District

The sheer size of the federal bureaucracy under the control of the executive branch makes it imperative that Republicans keep control of the White House. This is an often overlooked aspect of retaining the Presidency. Certainly, future Supreme Court appointments make George Bush's re-election vitally important. So, too, do the implications of tax and defense policy under a President Clinton, whether it's Bill or Hilary. But there is so much else to the executive branch — thousands of political appointments and enormous influence over the actions of literally millions of federal employees. I think a Bush second term would present tremendous opportunities for conservatives to place themselves throughout the bureaucracy, positioning themselves to influence policy for years to come. I know this would require some changes on Bush's part. He would have to admit that he is, in fact, in a war with the Democrat Congress — and acknowledge that this war would be fought every day of his second term. I believe a re-elected Bush would be sadder but wiser, and much more willing to do battle with the Kings of Capitol Hill, which would be excellent news for conservatives. The idea of a Democrat-controlled Congress pulling the strings on a Democrat-controlled executive branch should send shudders up the spine of every conservative. Re-elect the president.

ERROL SMITH

Author and radio talk show host on KIEV 870-AM, 3 to 4 p.m. Tuesdays, in Los Angeles

Looking for a good reason to support George Bush? Well, consider this.

Let's face it. If the economy were booming, few people would be giving Bill Clinton a serious thought. But since the economy is "the defining issue" of this campaign (and unfortunately it took George Bush too long to figure this out), Clinton has become a viable candidate. But he's done so by fooling more of the people more of the time. He's convinced many Americans that

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he has that quick fix for the economy that we've all been seeking. Of course if the true causes of our economic malaise are the high levels of government, corporate, and personal debt, along with a global recession, as many pundits believe, then only time to pay down our debt (not quick fixes) will result in a return to a robust economy.

Clinton's election could result in an initial spurt of consumer confidence, but any initial improvement will almost certainly be eclipsed by the harsh structural economic realities of our time. This will neutralize Clinton's economic plan and popularity, leaving us with a president who can do little to improve things domestically and who knows little in the area of foreign affairs.

The economy is in the middle of a correction that, for the most part, will have to run its course. So let's just take the economy out of the picture. *Now who's the most viable candidate?*

STEVEN HAYWARD

Research and editorial director of the Pacific Research Institute

George Bush deserves to lose. A Bush victory would suggest that it is possible to do nearly everything wrong and still win. It will allow the Republican Party to become still more flabby than it already is.

Conventional "scorched earth" politics holds that a period in opposition will be good for conservatives to re-establish and reinvigorate themselves, as was done under Jimmy Carter. Perhaps it will work out this way again, but it is just as possible that Clinton might get lucky and ride a cyclical boom in the economy to a second term in 1996.

The real reason for optimism about a period of opposition is not that Clinton is a cinch to wreck the economy, but rather the internal contradictions of the Democrat Party. In short, a President Clinton will have a very difficult time governing. The Democrats have not returned to their roots as the party of Truman and Kennedy and Humphrey. If elected, Clinton must either please the special interests that have muzzled themselves this year in the interest of taking power, or he must please the people. If he pleases the liberal interests, it will expose the supposedly new moderation of the Democrats as a fraud, and the people will turn on him. This could wreck the Democrats for another generation. If he aims to please the people through moderation, the liberal interests will turn on Clinton and bash away at him from within in 1996, as Ted Kennedy did to Carter. Neither prospect will be a happy one for the Democrats' long term interests. Hence, if Clinton wins, conservatives can expect large opportunities because of this unresolved crisis within the Democrat Party.

In the end I will cast my ballot for Bush, for the sole reason that one's presidential ballot is also a vote on the third branch of government, the judiciary. Bush's appointments to the bench will be very different from Clinton's. (I think the twit Souter was a miscalculation, not likely to be repeated as long as C. Boyden Gray and Bill Barr are around.) This is the only conceivable bright spot in the prospect of a second Bush administration. If Bush loses, I won't lose any sleep.

STEVE BALDWIN

Republican nominee in California's 77th Assembly District

The first responsibility of a president is national security, and the oath of office dictates that there is no higher priority than national defense. In 1991 President Bush fought a Congress still haunted by Vietnam. With

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prewar experts predicting thousands of U.S. casualties, President Bush made a painful decision to commit troops to liberate Kuwait. Bush could rely upon the most powerful armed forces in our history, but Clinton would dismantle our them by slashing the military budget by one-third. Add the disgrace of Clinton's draft dodging, and conservatives have an important reason to support Bush.

While our economy remains as the president's Achilles heel, a review of the record reveals that during the last three and one-half years the White House has proposed reforms that cut taxes and promote job growth. The president has proposed enterprise zones, tax incentives for first-time homebuyers, and a reduction in the capital gains tax. The cornerstones of the Bush health care plan are a combination of tort reform, tax credits, vouchers, and deregulation.

Governor Clinton's plan calls for hundreds of billions of dollars of new "investments." These investments are simply more taxes. He wants tax increases on people in the upper tax brackets. If Bush's first term holds any lesson, it is that Clinton's proposal doesn't work. The 1990 tax increases gave us a higher deficit and more unemployment. The president has made mistakes by his own admission, but the differences between President Bush and Governor Clinton are clear enough for conservatives to heed the advice of Pat Buchanan at the GOP convention, "Our place is beside George Bush."

HUGH HEWITT

Co-host of Los Angeles PBS TV station KCET's Life and Times *and radio talk show host on KFI 640-AM, 11 to 2 p.m. Saturdays, in Los Angeles*

Not only should conservatives vote for Bush, they should do so enthusiastically and with admiration. George Bush has served our country well. He has defended liberty abroad and, to the extent possible for a president opposed by a hostile Congress, has proposed principled government at home.

Look, he made a bad deal with Congress. Fine. But oppose the debit side of the ledger with the plus side: Clarence Thomas; Panama; veto after veto of crazy Democrat bills; the careful management of international affairs following the collapse of communism, Desert Shield and Desert Storm; the North American Free Trade Agreement; maybe even a Middle East peace accord. End of argument.

Some conservatives believe that conservatism, like God, is in the details. I believe it is in the single paragraph summary. Bush has been there when it counted most. What he lacked in eloquence, he provided for in leadership when the most difficult decisions arrived on his desk.

The critical observer replies that he's heard it all before — that Bush's admirers always repeat the same list of achievements. This rebuttal has always seemed odd, similar to arguing that, sure, Churchill was a great wartime leader, but what else did he have going for him; or that Lincoln saved the Union but wasn't so great when it came to textile policy. Bush delivered. Conservatives should as well. Unless, of course, we would prefer a mythical perfection to the reality of excellence. CPR

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Democrats In the Year of Change

The Evolution of a Species

The Democrats have Changed — again — and they want us to Change along with them. The question is: into what? A look at four rapidly Changing incumbents yields some clues.

by Matthew Cunningham and John Kurzweil

IN MID-AUGUST, seven-term Democrat Congressman Anthony Beilenson was talking about change to a gathering of voters in California's newly-drawn 24th Congressional district.

"I've been discouraged in recent years in Washington," he said, "by the failure of the federal government to do the kind of job that obviously needs to be done .... But I also have to tell you that my own feelings have changed dramatically in just the last few weeks. I need to say this not in a partisan way but I guess that's not really possible. For the first time in a good many years I personally am feeling hopeful and optimistic about American politics. I do believe that the American people understand what's at stake this year and that they will choose change. I find that usually encouraging — that there will be a government back in Washington next year that will, in fact, deal effectively, or at least try much harder than the current one is, to deal effectively with the problems that face this country and the needs of this country. And I must say I'm looking forward to being part of that change that's coming and to help bring it about."

Change, of course, is the Democrats' main theme this year, the primary change they'd like to see being an end to landslide Republican victories in presidential elections. But Beilenson probably had more in mind than that. As he said, he finds it "usually encouraging" when the American people seem to be in a mood for change. Change is of the essence for politicians who think like Tony Beilenson, those for whom the main problem is the world as it is — a place that "obviously" needs changing. As Lionel Trilling wrote in his novel *The Middle of the Journey*, the liberal culture is characterized by "an ever more imperious and bitter refusal to consent to the conditioned nature of human existence." And as Karl Marx put it: "philosophers have explained the world; it is necessary to change the world."

Liberalism's moral imperative is the conviction that the world is wrong and should be changed. They also take it as plain that the solution is "obvious," a word Beilenson used repeatedly. Just apply human reason and things will be set right. It's all so plain, it should not even be a matter of controversy. As Beilenson said, "I need to say this not in a partisan way but I guess that's not really possible" — not really possible, that is, because too much stupidity, ignorance, and petty partisanship still stand in the way of reason. But stupidity and pettiness can be overcome: arm reason with government power. "I believe that the government can and must help solve the nation's problems," Beilenson told his audience. Then it can get on with the "job that obviously needs to be done." For Beilenson, government's job is obvious: bring about change.

WHAT IS not so obvious is the answer to the obvious question: change to what? Liberal political ideas appear, at

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one level, to be a mass of contradictions: They abhor racism, but their commitment to affirmative action has become so involuted and bizarre that no audible denunciations were heard when, as Charles Krauthammer recently reported, the University of California "accepted a scholarship bequest marked whites-only." All through the Reagan-Bush years, liberals condemned "litmus tests" for judicial appointments and, in June, Bill Clinton himself said on NBC's "Today" show: "I hate to have any litmus tests ..." but then quickly added that "I would want to know that *Roe v. Wade* would be secure." Clinton's closest economic advisors include Derek Shearer, the man who helped dream up the phrase "economic democracy" as a euphemism for "socialism" and gave speeches advising left-liberal political activists to adopt it in the name of political expediency. Now Shearer emphatically denies both that he is a socialist and that Clinton's proposals amount to socialism. It is increasingly difficult to find any liberal willing to take a clear stand, not just on racism, judicial litmus tests, and socialism, but on a host of other political questions as well. Tom Hayden, for instance, isn't even sure liberals should continue to oppose the death penalty.

A lot of this confusion is intentional. As Shearer knows, you *can* fool some of the people some of the time and, in any event, a moving target is more difficult to hit. Also, a lot of it is strictly on the surface. Liberals are not going around championing such broad conservative principles as limited government, free markets, private property, or self-reliance; they do not call for a return to religion, the family, and private institutions as a way to help "solve our problems." Their belief that we should "use government" to do good is not noticeably diminished.

But the question: change to what? exposes a genuine confusion as well. No one on the left spends much time thinking about what will replace the evils they rail against. It doesn't seem to matter to them. It is enough that the evils be destroyed because then the human mind, free at last, will conform to its natural predilection to do good always and everywhere — a notion contradicted by every scrap of evidence available, but nonetheless passionately believed by every liberal alive. In short, liberalism is escapism, the ultimate rejection of a world they don't like, a flight from reality, a profound commitment to fantasy. *Of course* they can't say what we will change *to* — that would re-commit us to something real and defeat the whole purpose of the liberal enterprise.

A constituent said he preferred erasing the deficit by cutting spending. 'Tell me where,' Beilenson demanded. 'Let me put it this way...,' began the constituent. But Beilenson interrupted him, shouting, 'No, answer the question, goddamn it!'

Their political problem is that few voters share their profound revulsion for the world as it is or their enthusiasm for using government power to force people to change radically. That's why they've lost so many presidential elections. California's gerrymander provided cover for many of them in the Legislature and Congress, but that cover is now much diminished. The result is that the Shearer "untruth in labeling" principle is being stretched nearly to schizophrenic dimensions. Consider, for instance, the stunning transformations this year of four California congressional Democrats, all long-time incumbents, all suddenly in the unaccustomed position of facing competitive races, and all now talking about the need for "change."

TONY BEILENSON

IN THE old days, before redistricting, Anthony Beilenson fell into the habit of looking down, when he looked at all, at his district from his elevated perch in Washington with a healthy dose of disdain. In 1989, he provided a direct answer to a *Los Angeles Times* reporter who asked him to assess some of California's problems: "To be honest with you, I don't think about California's problems very much." He said such issues as traffic jams and soaring housing prices hold little interest for him. "I tend not to think in local terms, which may or may not be good," he said.

Three years later, in the midst of a nip-and-tuck reelection campaign, such blithe insouciance is nowhere to be found. "I've never taken a poll in my life," he told the *Agoura Acorn.* Why not? Because, the *Acorn* puff-piece reports, he prefers "getting out among his constituents" to gauge their opinions and because hearing

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what they are saying and being sensitive to their needs is of primary importance to him.

Contrast this with another *L.A. Times* report from a few years ago about a rare Beilenson meeting with constituents in Beverly Hills. The congressman told the crowd he'd rather meet the gaping budget deficit by raising taxes instead of borrowing, to which a constituent replied saying he preferred erasing the deficit by cutting spending.

"Tell me where," Beilenson demanded.

"Let me put it this way...," began the constituent.

But Beilenson interrupted him, shouting, "No, answer the question, goddamn it!" Hearing what they are saying and being sensitive to their needs, indeed!

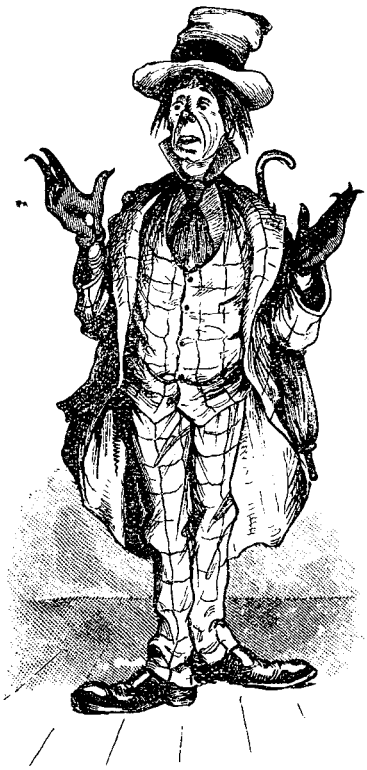
The real "change" for Beilenson is that, from 1977 until the 1991 redistricting, he was the beneficiary of friendly, liberal districts with decisive Democrat registration advantages. No more. Last year, rather than enter a bruising primary battle with powerful Congressman Henry Waxman, Beilenson chose to run in the 24th, which contains a large chunk of new, more conservative territory in the west San Fernando Valley and in Ventura County and a registration of 45 percent Democrat to 43 percent Republican.

Now Beilenson waves off the notion he's a liberal. According to his campaign, "He thinks of himself as fiscally conservative. He doesn't believe he's a tax-and-spend liberal."

"I'm trying to think how he puts it," mused the campaign worker we spoke with. Then she remembered: Beilenson's "votes are designed so they save money in the long run."

For the record, he voted for the 1990 budget summit agreement which doubled the deficit and imposed on a recession-battered economy the second largest tax increase in American history. In 1981, he voted against the landmark Reagan tax cuts. In 1989, he voted to increase the top marginal tax rate from 28 to 33 percent, and to place a 10 percent surtax on corporate earnings. Beilenson has sponsored legislation to increase the federal gas tax by 50 cents per gallon, employing the universal liberal rationale that it would go toward deficit reduction. Beilenson voted to increase his own pay 40 percent (to $129,000). His campaign literature boasts that he "has led Congressional efforts to reform our campaign finance system and to ban all contributions from special interest groups," but does not say that he expects the taxpayers to pick up the slack via public financing of Congressional campaigns.

Asked if he is a liberal, Beilenson told the *Acorn*: "Labels are not terribly useful," an answer Derek Shearer would endorse.



Rick Lehman

Echoes of Michael Dukakis resonate in the headline of a campaign piece for 10-year House veteran Rick Lehman: "We don't need democrats blaming republicans or republicans blaming democrats ... we need competent, reasonable sitting down together to come up with something that will work ...." Notice the lower casing of "democrats" and "republicans," a subtle pooh-poohing of political parties, not to mention "labels." Inside, Lehman sounds conservative themes, peppering the piece with buzzwords like "values" and "traditional." He thunders that "A strong work ethic is a basic value in American society. Dependency on welfare can no longer be an acceptable lifestyle," and fulminates that "The public loses when criminals escape punishment on mere technicalities. The law says criminals are entitled to a fair trial, not a perfect trial."

Perhaps this seems a little out of character from a man who, in 1990, garnered a 94 percent Americans for Democratic Action rating and whose lifetime COPE score is 94 percent. How could such a rock-ribbed conservative's lifetime American Conservative Union score be only 3 percent? And his rating with the National Federation of Independent Businesses be only 9 percent?

Guess what? When redistricting hit Lehman's Fresno-area 19th C.D., his Democrat registration advantage shrank from a 70 to 30 percent chasm to a 47 to 43 percent crevice. The Orange County Lincoln Club, one of the state's premier GOP fund raising organs, has targeted the 19th, lending its financial muscle to Lehman's Republican challenger.

Now, Lehman has even re-thought his position on cutting the capital gains tax. In a letter dated December 2, 1991, Lehman told a constituent: "It is my belief that a cut in the capital gains tax rate will not benefit the economy nor will it stimu-

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late anything but the federal budget deficit." Two months later — after the California Supreme Court upheld the state's new district lines — Lehman wrote a letter to another constituent, saying, "As you may know, in the past I have been hesitant to support a cut in the capital gains tax rate. Many economic studies suggest that revenue lost in the long term could have devastating effects on the economy. However, with the current economic climate, I feel it is crucial that the Congress must take decisive action to lessen the severe impact this recession is having on our economy.

"In this light, I will support a capital gains tax cut." In other words, Lehman supports conservative policy that he thinks will wreck the economy. That's a change.

To be fair, it should be pointed out that on more traditional Democrat issues, Lehman reverts to form. For example, he says that "Air quality is our number one environmental problem. Valley wide regional management is critical" — code words for increased regulation and government economic planning. Still and all, following redistricting, Lehman *talks*, at least, like a changed man.

Vic Fazio

DEMOCRAT CONGRESSMAN Vic Fazio has spent his 14 years in the House accumulating power and privileges for himself and other Democrat incumbents. He is chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and fifth ranking member of the House of Representatives leadership. His numerous efforts to raise congressional pay have earned him the sobriquets "The Mayor of Capitol Hill" and "The Prince of Perks," and he's considered a good bet to be Speaker of the House some day. That is, if he survives this November.

Before redistricting, Fazio enjoyed a 54 to 34 percent Democrat registration advantage. But in 1990 he managed to garner only 55 percent of the vote against his Republican and Libertarian challengers, despite spending more than $1 million to the GOP candidate's $40,000 (and the Libertarian's zero).

Since redistricting, the Democrat edge has eroded to 49 to 40 percent. Not surprisingly, voter sentiment in Fazio's new district (the 3rd, running west and north of Sacramento) contrasts sharply with that of his old one. The conservative-liberal spread increases from the old district to the new by 14 percent on bonds, 12 percent on business regulation, 12 percent on law-and-order, 10 percent on social issues, and 10 percent on partisan contests. Sensing the opportunity to knock off a top House Democrat, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee (and the Orange County Lincoln Club) have targeted Fazio for defeat. All this adds up to a need for "change" for Vic Fazio, who, before this year, was the walking personification of the big-spending, high-taxing Congressional Democrat.

"We need to raise taxes if we want to cut the deficit and re-establish a firm foundation for the economy ..." he told the *New York Times*. In 1991, the National Taxpayers Union named him the number one spender in Congress — up from number two in 1980. His other interest group ratings tell the same story: 97 percent from the National Education Association and 3 percent from the Business-Industry PAC.

Just to confirm our suspicions, we phoned the Fazio campaign headquarters and asked if Vic Fazio would characterize himself as a liberal.

"No!" was the emphatic answer from a campaign spokesman. "He's a moderate, pragmatic problem solver ... always has been. And I won't comment any further." This is the standard Fazio response to the dreaded "L" question, combining political ideology with the theory of relativity. "I'm a liberal pragmatist," Fazio explains, "which by California standards means I am a moderate. There aren't that many people in the middle ...." Is their idea of change becoming clearer?

George Brown

THE STANDARD rules of politics say George Brown's San Bernardino and Riverside Counties-spanning district should be in Republican hands, as are most Southern California districts. But Brown is nothing if not resilient. First elected nearly 30 years ago, he has battled declining Democrat registration and shrinking victory margins, between Democrat gerrymanders, throughout the '70s and '80s.

Now Democrats in his 42nd district account for only 51.8 percent of the voters while GOP numbers have fattened to 39 percent, teetering at the brink of the magic 40 percent that endows congressional districts with "competitiveness." Years of victory margins in the too-close-for-comfort column have given Brown a highly developed talent for confusing voters by wobbling all over the ideological map. He is a past master of "change," often changing completely between take-off in Washington and landing back home.

In past campaigns, for example, Brown told voters he

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Close Encounters With An Environmentalist

A housewife in tiny Hanford, California, learns of "environmental racism" — and political opportunism — when everyone from Jesse Jackson to the minions of Citizen Action descend upon her town.

by Katherine Andes

I WAS MAKING spaghetti. I tasted it and it was good. The doorbell rang. I answered it with my two under-fivers close on my heels. Someone at the door is always an occasion of immense celebration for them. The young man was pleasant enough, and I remembered seeing a young attractive woman canvasser in the neighborhood earlier.

He was an environmentalist.

He flashed an I.D. badge as he asked me to sign a petition and make a donation to his Los Angeles-based organization in order to fight a toxic waste incinerator being proposed for construction in my county. I was vaguely familiar with the project. Our hometown paper had recently headlined Jesse Jackson coming to town to fight the "environmental racism" being practiced by our local toxic waste landfill, ChemWaste, the biggest waste buster in the west.

Environmental racism is the newest me-too-ism cry of the ever-increasing oppressed minorities that make up America and especially California. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), in its report entitled "Toxic Waste and Race in the United States" recommends that the agency not just measure pollutants and risks thereof but also should take into account that whatever risk factors there are they should be spread evenly across the races. (I'd love to see Senator Kennedy sponsoring a toxic waste site on Martha's Vineyard.)

But for now I had a kid at my door. Being a neoconservative, I confess a soft spot for large corporations. Nonetheless, my liberal heritage said give the kid a chance, maybe he's right this time.

"I am somewhat aware of the project but I'll have to inform myself. Do you have any literature on the project?"

"No," he replied.

"Do you have anything on your group?"

"No."

"I guess I'll have to follow the newspaper more closely, then, before I can sign anything," I told him. I thought I was quite reasonable.

"The newspaper won't report the truth," he matter of factly replied.

This being a small town and knowing some of the people at *The Hanford Sentinel*, as well as their liberal leaning, I was somewhat surprised at his response.

At this point, one might normally close the door and the conversation. However, my children by now had run out into the front yard and, well, not that much exciting happens in this small town, so, engaging an environmentalist in debate is as good as anything and besides the Jehovah's Witnesses don't come to my door anymore.

"So, the *Sentinel* doesn't fairly report the issue?" I said.

"Right." Now he thought I was getting it. "I can tell you anything you need to know."

"Why should I trust you?" And my smart mouth couldn't resist, "For all I know, you're a Nazi."

"I'm sure I look like a Nazi," he sarcastically replied.

HE WAS wearing a brown shirt or was it earth toned?

I bit my tongue, smiled and tried to be Christian, "I am sure you are a very sincere person or you wouldn't be taking the time to do this ... (little did I know then that college-aged environmental canvassers are paid $8

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to $9 per hour!) ... but I do need to have some sort of documentation."

"Look," he said, "I don't understand your attitude. You've got kids and they're going to be shipping toxic waste not only from this state but from 13 other states to this county!"

He made "other states" sound like we were accepting waste from death-squad-style Central American dictators. Later, I found out only one percent of the waste scheduled to be disposed of at the site is from out-of-state. Additionally, California exports far more regulated waste than it imports. To be exact, California generates 17.6 million tons of federally regulated waste. Of that, it exports 88,463 tons to 30 states while it imports 57,981 tons from 21.

'Ask the people at Love Canal and Three Mile Island. They trusted the government. And you know where they are today?'

'Where?'

'They're all dead.'

My response was not very Christian.

I offered, "Where should we ship it? To a third world country?" and then I screamed, "Lauren, you stop it this instant or you'll get walloped."

Inwardly, I cringed. The children were behind him so he couldn't see that Lauren was poking at her brother's head with a stick. Now I had confirmed his suspicions: CONSERVATIVES ABUSE THEIR CHILDREN.

He glanced over his shoulder, smirked and then continued, "You're right, we shouldn't ship our waste to the third world. Everyone should take care of their own waste."

"That may not always be the most environmentally efficient," I answered. (I was to find out subsequently that the site in Kettleman Hills is uniquely suited geologically for toxic waste disposal as it is nestled amongst mountains of hard materials that provide a natural barrier against leakage. Even if there is a leak there is no potable ground water in the area for the material to seep into.)

"You say you want documentation," he persisted, "what documentation? I could type something on a piece of paper and that would be documentation."

"That's not what I mean. Something like portions of an Environmental Impact Report would be nice."

Now, he was thoroughly disgusted. "You want a government document? You trust the government?"

We had arrived at the heart of the issue.

"You don't trust our government?" I looked at him with all the innocence I could muster.

He looked a little sheepish. "Well, not always," he mumbled.

"You don't trust our freely-elected representatives?"

"No."

"You environmentalists insist on having EIRs for everything at enormous expense to consumers and when the reports are not to your liking you scream and cry like babies running to the courts to see if every i is dotted."

"I can't believe you trust the government."

"Well, no one elected you."

The dialogue was deteriorating fast.

"Ask the people at Love Canal and Three Mile Island. They trusted the government. And you know where they are today?"

"Where?"

"They're all dead."

My response was not very Christian.

He tramped off through my shrubbery to the neighbor's lawn ... the neighbor who's a conservative deputy sheriff. I chuckled wondering about the response he would get there.

IT HAD been an exciting evening. A small town housewife had chased an L.A. radical off her property. There was something very gratifying about that. My self-congratulatory reverie was broken by the realization that the activist had lots of my neighbors' signatures on his petition. What good is it to rout an adversary if we lose the war?

Yet, spaghetti was waiting. So, I gathered up my under-fivers and wondered if maybe someday the JWs would come back.

The JWs never came back but a year later another environmentalist did. By this time a court case against the validity of ChemWaste's EIR was in progress.

This environmentalist looked even younger than the first. He was polite. He was earnest. I hoped someday my own son would look like him.

This time I had a friend with me (a liberal friend) and circumstances precluded a long discussion. This fel-

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low had a single two-sided sheet of paper in hand which contained a long list of charges against the proposed incinerator and ChemWaste.

ALTHOUGH I AGAIN refused to sign his petition or give him money he encouraged me to read his material, call his office, and talk to his people about the matter. By his sheer charm, he had me beginning to doubt my prior convictions. Then he said it.

"ChemWaste specifically selected the San Joaquin Valley to locate its incinerator because it's an enclosed basin and if there's a spill it won't affect the large population areas of San Francisco and Los Angeles."

I was thunderstruck. As I watched my liberal friend nod knowingly, I was incapable of replying.

Later, I marvelled at my inability to muster a word of sanity. Although I am never surprised when liberals say something utterly stupid, I am still surprised when they say something new and stupid. This one I wasn't ready for.

I know businesses large and small can be mean and greedy, but executives, chemists, and engineers at ChemWaste have their homes, their wives, and their children here in the Valley. I doubt a mere paycheck would be enough for them to put themselves as well as their own families at such great risk. Second, the whole Valley has a population of about 2.5 million, so potentially a lot of people could be affected by a spill (although, granted, the area is a lot sparser in population than northern or southern California). Third, the Valley floor is not exactly small — about 12,000 square miles — so fumes or whatever leakage could imaginably occur would certainly disperse quickly. And, besides, just how does an incinerator have a spill anyway?

Sylvia Vickers, spokeswoman for ChemWaste further explains, "The Kettleman site was originally chosen for toxic waste disposal because of its remoteness, central location for interstate commerce, geological suitableness and lack of rainfall." The lack of rain is important for solar evaporation ponds. Incidentally, ChemWaste doesn't need to use these ponds as much as they used to because the company sends special teams to manufacturers to teach them how to reduce waste themselves.

She continued, "We wish to add the incinerator because federal and state laws require certain wastes be incinerated and our customers need it."

After the young activist left, I looked over the document he had given me. His group called itself Citizen Action. ChemWaste's General Manager, Richard Zweig responded to some of the following charges as follows:

Citizen Action: ChemWaste could burn 100,000 tons of toxic waste each year.

Zweig: "The most would be about 50,000 and the current projections are for 34,000."

Citizen Action: The incinerator will emit birth-defect and cancer-causing chemicals such as benzene, PCBs, dioxins, arsenic, lead, and chloroform.

Zweig: "Ordinary wastes must burn to 99.99 percent. Scrubbers capture most of what's left. More onerous chemicals like PCBs must burn to a completion of 99.9999 percent, however, we are not applying to burn PCBs. Arsenic and lead emissions are minute. Cars emit far more of the combustion type waste like benzene and carbon monoxide than the incinerator would ... at least in areas of high population. Most people, including environmentalists, still drive cars."

CITIZEN ACTION: ChemWaste was fined $7 million for violations of environmental laws at its Kettleman Hills facility in 1985. ChemWaste settled the fines by paying $2.1 million to the Environmental Protection Agency and $1.1 million to the state Department of Health Services.

Zweig: "In the early '80s some hazardous waste companies were somewhat lax. The National Enforcement Investigation Center (NEIC), the enforcement arm of

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Criticus

Farewell, Pearblossom

G.B. Tennyson

THERE ARE no pears in Pearblossom. Or if there are, they're recent growths, for the original plantings all died leaving their memory only in the name of the town. Peaches became the crop of choice, as is evident from the abundant offerings in the fruit stands of Littlerock. As you move eastwards from Pearblossom, however, there are precious few signs of any kind of cultivated crops, for the road east is the last stretch of true high desert along the Pearblossom Highway. It too has its ghosts as well as its threatening portents.

East of Pearblossom the land returns ever more to the desert. The sky seems to expand, and the cloud puffs that hang in it look like giant gobs of white cotton candy on a field azure. There are fewer settlements, indeed only two that abut the highway at any point for the rest of its length, and far fewer billboards or other signs of civilization. To be sure there are the inevitable telephone poles and in the distance great pylons supporting huge power lines carrying electricity to megalopolis from the Sierra or perhaps from the Colorado. But most of the sites of activity lie some distance off the road on either side.

There is the turnoff to the south, for example, to Valyermo at the base of the San Gabriels and to the aptly named St. Andrew's Priory (now Abbey) reposing in blessed serenity just a few miles from the famous fault from which it takes its name. Further on, beyond Valyermo, on the very slopes of the mountains, one reaches the Devil's Punchbowl, a fascinating geological formation that does indeed bestride the San Andreas. Yet another road south of Pearblossom leads to a glider flight operation that is evidently designed to take advantage of the downdrafts that swirl about the San Gabriels. To the north where the desert spreads out seemingly forever there suddenly rises from the plain the striking, burnt-umber colored Saddleback Butte, a state park, and behind it a wildflower sanctuary where after a wet winter one can see some glorious displays of desert wildflowers. And if you press further north along that route you will come in time to Edwards Air Force Base. But all these sights are off the Pearblossom itself which seems to be trying to reassert its original Huck Finn character, if only for a few miles.

The forlorn stone ghost house of Llano is another broken dream, the remains of a building put up by an experimental socialist colony in the 1920s.

AS YOU move east, on your right loom always the San Gabriels, snow-capped in the winter, mostly tree-topped in the summer, except at the very highest elevations, and always imposing. On your left, to the north in the far distance rise other ranges of mountains, from the Tehachapis in the extreme northwest linking up to the southern reaches of the Sierras to those superbly named lower ranges off to the north and northeast that break the monotony of the desert while seeming like the clouds to recede ever in the distance: the Shadow Mountains, the Gravel Hills, Iron Mountain, the Calicos, Sidewinder Mountain, and the Granites. This expanse framed by mountains reminds you that you are indeed in a valley, however vast, and that once upon a time perhaps the deer and the antelope did play here, though the former have retreated to the mountains and the latter have, like the pears, left only their name behind and no forwarding address.

But soft. A glint of sun on a pile of stones catches the eye not too far east of Pearblossom and due south of Saddleback Butte. It is the harbinger of the settlement of Llano. Now, *llano* in Spanish means *plain*, and plain Llano is in every respect, little more than a prefab post office, a gas station and mini-market, and a long since boarded up restaurant called the Llano Inn, nothing like so alluring as the former *Fräulein's*. Other habitation there is off the highway down those many almost invisible roads, often dirt ones, that spread out across the desert and lead to "ranches," mostly rather modest but equally often graced with names like "Lizard's Lair" and "Desert Rat's Den." (The official street designations on detailed maps are too horrid to contemplate —

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e.g., Avenue W-8, and 176th Street E, apparently extensions of Palmdale street numbers named by graduates of city planning programs at junior colleges.) But none of these gives Llano its distinction. It is the pile of stones.

THE STONES are what catch the eye and surely pique the momentary curiosity of even the fleetest of drivers. They stand on the north side of the highway perhaps half a mile west of Llano proper. They appear at first to be six stone chimneys, but are soon seen to be only two chimneys with fireplaces and four smaller stone pillars. They are clearly the remains of a sizeable dwelling, with the two tall chimneys at the east and west ends and the four shorter support pilings along the south, highway-facing side, all of it on a raised platform of concrete faced with similar large brown stones. There would be nothing unusual about all this, considering that the desert is littered with the crumbling remains of houses and shacks and lean-tos of all kinds, were it not for the solidity and seeming perdurability of the smooth, rounded, mortared stones and indeed for the very use of stones in this setting at all. Here was a house apparently built upon a firm foundation.

But was it in spirit? Alas, no. The forlorn stone ghost house of Llano is another broken dream, the remains of a building put up by an experimental socialist colony in the 1920s, the sort of group that would have gained (and for all I know did) the approval of Upton Sinclair. They sought to flee the contaminations of capitalist society (and Llano was certainly remote enough at the time), establish their own self-sufficient utopia, live off the fruits of their labor, and, one supposes, that of the pear trees that were held to do so well hereabouts. We know what happened to the pear trees, so it will come as no surprise that the same thing happened to the utopians. They had to abandon their schemes in the desert and they moved their colony to Missouri. Local legend does not know what happened to them there, but on the *llano* the elements did their work and now nothing but the stone outline of the house still stands.

If only Lenin and his comrades had taken notice of this failure in the California desert at the very time they were trying to make the future work in Russia, they might have abandoned their schemes, too, rather than inflict 70 years of torment on so much of the world. As it is, it looks as though the Socialist Ghost House of Llano is surviving rather better than the statues of Lenin and his cohorts that constant readers will remember were the subject of some earlier ruminations by Criticus (*CPR*, Fall 1991). Which suggests that the California utopians were probably a good deal purer of heart than the Leninist ones. Perhaps the high desert is the spot for gathering together those soviet statues and placing them in the bare, ruined choir of the Ghost House. My own Leaden Lenin could be put on a pedestal under a glass bell. It might do wonders for the economy of Llano.

But now we rush on towards the east, passing on the right Largo Vista Road that leads to the mountains and the back way to the Wrightwood ski resorts, the broad, white runs of which are visible in the winter to the practiced eye even from this point on the road. The Pearblossom itself remains resolutely in the desert for some considerable stretch yet, but technically, as I noted in an earlier installment, the Pearblossom ceases at the point where it meets Highway 18, Palmdale Road, heading due east to Victorville and Highway 138 itself, hitherto the Pearblossom Highway, veers southwest and officially becomes the Antelope Highway. But the Pearblossom it remains in spirit for the next dozen miles and the Pearblossom it will be called here.

IT IS in this stretch that we encounter five miles of "dips" in the highway that give riders the feeling of being on a mild roller coaster ride but that also unfortunately encourage the reckless to try to pass when they cannot see over the next rise. It is the most accident strewn stretch of the Pearblossom. On the

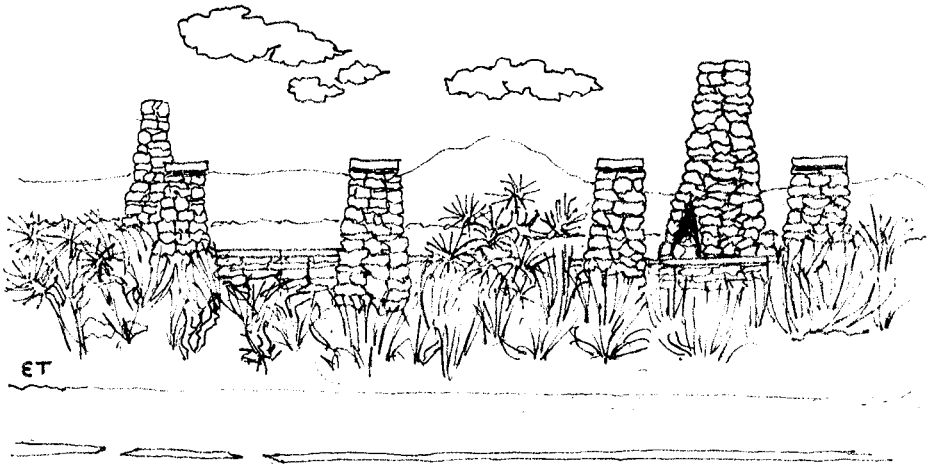

Illustration by Elizabeth Tennyson

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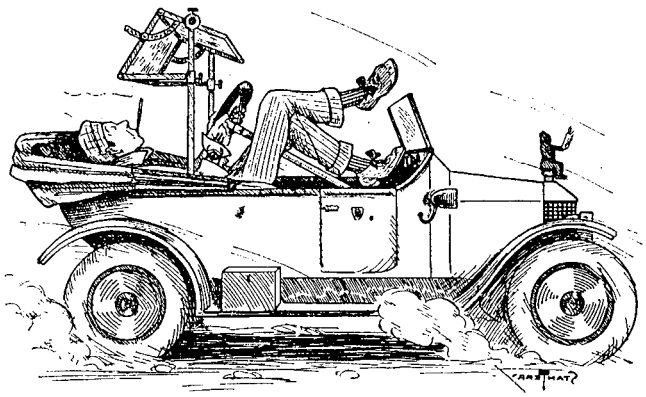

brighter side, this easterly portion of the road contains the most abundant stands, if one may so call them, of Joshua trees on the entire route and indeed in all the western Mojave. Some of them are magnificently tall, towering perhaps 40 feet high; more of them are less developed, averaging, say, six to 16 feet. But they come here in great clusters, and with the occasional scattering among them of lower-growing juniper and of various short-growth plants that will become tumbleweed in the winter they give this stretch of the desert the closest thing one will find in such terrain to the feeling of a forest, but a forest of trees so exotic that it looks like something from another planet.

THE ROAD is veering sharply southeast now and heading towards the mountains and eventually the Cajon Pass that marks the point of separation between the San Gabriels and the San Bernardinos. One last settlement remains before you cross into San Bernardino County and the solace of no longer having to see dirt roads marked "263rd St E" (!) but instead roads with real names like "Smoke Tree Road," "Oasis Road," "Silver Tree Road." That settlement is the scattered one of Pinion Hills that fans out across the county line over a wide area mainly to the south of the highway and into the foothills of the mountains from where one can see individual houses on the hillsides, not a few of them with tin roofs that glisten in the sun from out of the hillside greenery.

There is a restaurant or two spaced along the road — the Yucca Inn, the Big Rock Inn — a new prefab post office, and some other enterprises, and presumably even pinion trees, though these are most likely to flourish in the distant foothills above 4,000 feet where the Joshuas thin out, so their presence cannot be confirmed from the highway. Possibly this name too is a memory. What is certainly not a memory are the signs along the highway proclaiming the future shopping center of some 18 acres to be called "WestMar," an ominous portent of things to come.

At present WestMar exists only on billboards, and one suspects that financing has been hard to come by and hopes for another broken dream along the Pearblossom. But sooner or later there will probably arise here that cluster of fast food outlets, dry cleaning shops, and video rental stores that increasingly seems to mark the apex of American culture. And then no doubt housing developments and suburban sprawl. And then the necessary widening of the highway. And probably the claiming of water from the California Aquaduct that the Pearblossom has been crossing and recrossing (sometimes it goes underground) the entire length of this ride.

And then? Well, consider that the Pearblossom very closely parallels on the north side of the San Gabriel mountains Foothill Boulevard on the south side. Consider that at one time Ventura Boulevard was merely a parallel on the barren valley north side of the Santa Monicas to Wilshire Boulevard on the south. Today Wilshire and Ventura are more like twins than distant kin. Tomorrow the Pearblossom may be the twin of Foothill Boulevard.

Hurry, then, before it's too late to catch some of the Pearblossom before the "widder Douglas" in the form of modern urbanization "sivilizes" poor Huck and makes him stand in line for his Big Mac. And while you're at it, go the next few miles past Pinion Hills to Mountain Top Junction, where the Pearblossom as I construe it truly ends with the meeting of Highway 138 and Highway 2, the eastern terminus of the Angeles Crest Highway. Eastward, 138 takes you past the intriguing Mormon Rocks and all the way to Silverwood Lake in the San Bernardinos. South and turning southwestwards, the Angeles Crest Highway takes you to the sweet village of Wrightwood and across the top of the San Gabriels on a scenic and labyrinthine route back to La Canada. Each of these roads has its delights, but nothing has the same wayward charm as the still mostly "*un*sivilized" Pearblossom. CPR

BOOKS

Loyal Service

Nofziger, by Lyn Nofziger, Regnery Gateway, 1992, 358 pages, $21.95, cloth.

Reviewed by Dan Beck

LONG BEFORE Murphy Brown, national spelling lessons, and saxophone performances on late night

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talk shows, there was a time when presidential campaigns revolved around candidates who stood for something (anything!), debated real issues, and were run by at least a few people who truly believed in the candidates they were placing before the American people.

LYN NOFZIGER has lived three-and-a-half decades at the frontlines of the political scene as reporter, campaign press secretary, political strategist. Most important to his own dreams and the political fortunes of the nation, Nofziger loyally served the one man he felt had the vision and determination to be a great president of the United States: Ronald Reagan. In his new book, *Nofziger*, he traces not only his own colorful career but the political evolution of a man who, as early as 1966, struck a strong chord with the political newcomer who had until then been looking at politics from the outside as a Washington journalist and campaign correspondent. "There's something out there," he said at the time. "I don't know what it is but there's something between Reagan and the people. He's going to be elected governor and someday he might even be president."

As tough as it was at times battling with an ever-changing "inner circle" of Reagan friends, loyalists, and opportunists, Nofziger came and went, moved repeatedly on a track with stops in Sacramento, Washington, and Los Angeles, but eventually realized his political dream when he helped Reagan into the White House in 1980.

We are with Nofziger on those early California campaigns and the Reagan days in Sacramento. We are with him in the Nixon White House. We relive that first presidential campaign in 1976. We share in the triumph of 1980 and his later pain in being tried, convicted, and later vindicated for violation of federal ethics laws.

Unique among political memoirists, Nofziger is actually a gifted writer and he shares his story with a style that is at once candid, down-to-earth, and humorous. He stops along the way to set the record straight from previously published "first-hand accounts," discusses his own blunders and political pratfalls, and provides valuable insights into players who, for better or worse, will likely be with us for some time. Included is Bush's campaign guru, James Baker, a man of whom Nofziger writes, "His best buddy is himself, James A. Baker III. The president runs a poor second, as he may eventually discover."

Through Nofziger's eyes we catch glimpses of several of the people who make presidents and of several people who, in their own minds, ought to be president. Nofziger's parade of political players and characters also gives an insight into the changing nature of American politics and the practitioners of the trade. He begins his career with men who worked hard and believed in their mentors, and traces it to the current day when operatives all too often believe only in themselves.

Old California political hands will enjoy this look back to an exciting time of rough-and-tumble California politics. Conservatives will relish the tale of a "true believer" and a time when the beliefs became true. But the real joy in reading *Nofziger* comes from the supply of anecdotes, long-forgotten incidents that might not have turned a campaign but that at least made them interesting. Nofziger points to a blunder of his during the 1980 campaign when, frustrated by campaign rumors of a Reagan heart attack, he jokingly told reporters that Jimmy Carter had once been close to being kicked out of Annapolis for contracting a social disease. In short order, Nofziger's joke surfaced in some press accounts as a report that "Carter had the clap."

Stories like these have been forgotten and *Nofziger* is a delightful time spent with a knowing insider as we relive those moments or experience them for the first time.

Perhaps there is some hope for the future in realizing how soon we had forgotten some of these footnotes to history (who was Richard Schweiker?). Maybe someday soon we will forget the silliness and inanities of Campaign '92 ... at least until Larry King writes his book.

Neo-Liberal Privatization

Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector, from Schoolhouse to Statehouse, City Hall to The Pentagon, by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, Addison-Wesley, 1992, 405 pages, $22.95.

Reviewed by Peter Hannaford

IN MARCH 1988, the last year of Ronald Reagan's second term, the President's Commission on Privati-

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zation issued its report. Among its recommendations were the sale or transferring management of public housing units to their residents, creation of competition among local school systems through vouchers and other incentives, and contracting out — by competitive bid — various government operations that might be handled more efficiently by private companies.

The major news media yawned. Congress treated the report with disdain.

NOW, FOUR years later, David Osborne, a consultant to state and local government, and Ted Gaebler, former city manager of two small cities in California and Ohio, have written a book that — among other things — recommends "empowering" public housing tenants by turning over ownership or management to them; creating competition among local school systems; and contracting out public services where it makes good sense to do so.

The media are praising it. Members of Congress are talking it up.

What caused the sea change? Back in 1988, the media, fresh from covering the circus-like atmosphere of the Congressional Iran-Contra hearings, was unlikely to be aroused by recommendations of a lame-duck president to a Congress desirous of derailing Republican election efforts to retain the White House. Those were the proximate reasons why the Reagan privatization initiatives were ignored.

At the municipal, county, and state levels, the authors contend, the concept did not gain much ground because, throughout most of the '80s, many of these government units were running surpluses; hence, no pressing need for change.

Today, the outlook is different. State and local governments are strapped. Taxpayers want services but no higher taxes. According to the authors, this has led to a new "entrepreneurial spirit" among public sector managers. As a result, many of them are experimenting with flexible budgeting, contracting out (privatization), and streamlined and creative work procedures.

A few pages into their preface, the authors declare, "First, we believe deeply in government." They do not see government as a necessary evil, but as a positive conduit for solving collective problems. While most conservatives would agree with the latter idea, their definition and the authors' of what should be solved collectively may differ. The authors cite homelessness, illiteracy, toxic waste, "the specter of global warming," and "the exploding cost of medical care" as problems to be solved collectively, i.e., by government.

As yet there is no scientific consensus as to the cause or ultimate course of "global warming" and, as to managing medical costs, government has not been conspicuously successful. So, readers may wish to reserve their enthusiasm for some of the more creative cost-saving solutions to local problems the book presents.

WE ARE given example after example of how governments are being "reinvented," including a school district in Harlem that has dropped the concept of one-school-in-one-building and now has 52 specialized small schools in 20 buildings and the successful takeover of operations and ownership of the Kenilworth-Parkside housing project in Washington, D.C., by its tenants (a favorite Reagan project in the '80s).

The subject has many liberals agog. The Democrats even had a panel discussion on the subject at their national convention this summer. Still the question must be asked: are all these encouraging examples cited by the authors part of a tidal wave of new thinking that will sweep every governmental entity in the country, or are they isolated cases? Those who take up a career in government implicitly have traded the chance to make a lot of money for the security of civil service. By its nature, it attracts the risk-averse. Still, one can hope the authors' thesis proves true.

Ronald Reagan used to have a small plaque on his desk that read: "It doesn't matter who gets the credit, as long as the job gets done." In this case, it looks as if the intelligentsia will give two neo-liberals the credit for many ideas Reagan and his followers promoted. Indeed, had these authors written the Privatization Commission's report back in 1988, they might have titled it "Reinventing Government." CPR

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Popular Culture

Cultural Scenes We (Almost) Never See

Rappin' For Free Speech and Platinum-Gold

T.R. O'Neill-Lopez

Come, enter into my imagination, and see ...

LOS ANGELES — The Los Angeles headquarters of Platinum-Gold Records was the scene of a press conference yesterday. Three controversial rap singers and Platinum-Gold executives joined to protest what they perceive as attempts to censor their products. Security was tight as various law enforcement and minority advocacy groups staged protests of their own.

First to speak was white rapper Cool Klucker of the group Cross-Burning, which recently torched a 50-foot cross at an outdoor concert in Tennessee. A number of law enforcement and minority advocacy groups have protested the Louisiana-based group's most recent song, "Ethnic Cleansing," which says:

I've got my pickup gassed up
I've got my baseball bat
I've got my .45 auto
Boy, what you think about that?
I've got an AK on the gun rack
Good for taking out blacks
White is right,
And you're in my sights
Time for some
Ethnic cleansing, dude.

"Middle class Americans don't understand the rural and bayou culture where most of the nation's white underclass lives," said Klucker when accused of promoting racial hatred. "There's a lot of frustration and pent-up violence against things like unemployment, poor education, and affirmative action. This song simply expresses it."

Klucker denied that his work actually called for the killing of blacks and other minorities. "It's a catharsis and a fantasy," said the heavily tattooed singer, a former sociology professor at Yale. "It's like an Arnold Schwarzenegger movie. It's entertainment. People shouldn't take it too seriously."

However, fellow band members disagreed. "If white gangs and skinheads are going to be fighting and killing each other, I don't see why they don't just take a week off and kill black people," said a singer identified only as Travis. "I mean, if our salvation means their total destruction, so be it. By whatever means necessary."

Davison Williams, a black police officer, had to be restrained from attacking the band. When riot police and National Guardsmen had succeeded in calming the disturbance, rapper I.B. White of the group *Sturmtruppen* defended their recent release, "Jew Killer."

White, an admirer of Adolph Hitler, Torquemada, and David Duke, complained that "America has lost its sovereignty to a Zionist occupational government, the ZOG. The Jews control the media and are trying to destroy the Christian religion. And their loyalty is to Israel, not America. Our politicians have sold us out."

"Jew Killer" says:

The Inquisition put 'em on the rack
Time to rise up and take America back
Die, Zog, die!

WHITE ALSO charged that Jewish doctors were injecting gentile children with the AIDS virus. He said he planned a song on the subject in "Death Camp," the group's next album, which would be dedicated to Abu Nidal and Adolph Eichmann.

James Strong of the group War-Lock had to be protected from ho-

---

T.R. O'Neill-Lopez is California Political Review's *roving correspondent on Popular Culture.*

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mosexual activists protesting the group's song "Fag Killer," which says:

Fags spread disease
Fags spread AIDS
It's time to start,
To make some raids
No more tolerance
It's time for violence
Never mind the laws
Killing fags is a good cause.

When finally able to speak, Strong called for an end to all AIDS research. "AIDS is a divine punishment," the singer said.

"We shouldn't interfere with nature. The wages of sin is death. Most people hate fags anyway," said the singer.

The three bands thanked the Platinum-Gold company for recognizing their worth as artists and for placing the $1 billion assets of the company, one of the largest in the nation, behind their work. A private security firm whisked the bands away in an armored car accompanied by motorcycles. Officials of Platinum-Gold then took the podium.

"WHILE WE disagree with the sentiments in these songs we wish to protest any and all attempts to censor these artists," said W. Morton Cosgrove of Platinum-Gold. "You can't deny anyone their First Amendment rights and we support the artists 100 percent." Carla Dodge, a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, supported Cosgrove's argument and denounced the "Religious Right and political conservatives, who are trying to inflict their puritanism on the populace." Dodge had to be taken away when a beer bottle hurled by a black protester struck her on the head. Black and Chicano protesters also chased away a group of Hollywood celebrities who said they were opposed to racism but wanted to protest censorship.

Cosgrove denied that his company was profiteering on hatred, and that his company's music had anything to do with the recent torture-murder of four gay activists by skinhead groups.

"Anybody who thinks that song lyrics affect behavior has to have a pretty weak mind," Cosgrove said.

Asked whether there was any material that his company would find morally objectionable and reject as unfit for release, Cosgrove said, "there might be. But I can't think of any right now. Basically, if it makes money, we will sell it." CPR

How the Media Makes People Paranoid

(Continued from page 16)

open the papers, shake out the chips, scan the front section (which rarely contained anything I cared to read) and then quickly move on to the book reviews, the lifestyle section, the arts, science, and anything but front pages with their now totally irrelevant political analysis, outraged reaction, bustling sense of self-importance, and lack of any sense of the long view.

I remember reading about Dr. Albert Schweitzer out there in French Equatorial Africa, treating the natives, looking life (and death) directly in the face every morning and here would come the river boat, bringing all the London papers with their stories of fashion, scandal, intrigue, political posturing. It seemed absurd to him. Pathetic even. And he was right. The bad thing about the daily news isn't that it makes you paranoid — though it does that. The bad thing is that it makes you shallow.

I have a dream. Someday I'll live in a cozy wooden house in a pine forest on a high mountain. Instead of owning a TV, I'll use my radio to catch world broadcasts of the BBC when I feel I simply must have a news fix. In the meantime, I'll spend my days getting up on frosty winter mornings, making a thermos of steaming French Roast, and trudging outside through the snow to my A-frame writing shack out back. I'll fire up my Franklin stove, pour myself a smoking cup of coffee and then, before turning on my computer and aligning the satellite antenna, I'll go into the closet and pull out the day's paper. Except it won't be today's paper. What I'll do is buy an entire year of, say, the *Chicago Tribune* for some long-ago year, like 1938. I'll keep the papers in chronological order. Then every morning, I'll pick out the paper for that date, sip my coffee and read everything that interests me.

WHEN I'M done, I'll fold the paper carefully, put it on the bottom of the pile and save it again for next year. It's true I won't be up to date on a lot of matters, which is to say I won't know anything about Madonna, Woody Allen and Soon Yi, Barbra Streisand and Andre Agassi, or Who Killed Marilyn Monroe. But I'll be a lot happier. My mind will be clear of irrelevant clutter. I'll be able to see the stars at night. And when it's time to go looking for diamonds, I won't have to wade through the sewage first. CPR

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Democrats in the Year of Change

(Continued from page 24)

supported increased defense spending when in fact he was routinely voting with other liberal Democrats to cut the defense budget. Brown assured his crime-conscious constituents he "voted for the stronger death penalty provision in the 1988 Drug Act," when he had done no such thing. He shrugged off this campaign mendacity, telling the *Wall Street Journal* in 1988: "I'm not happy having to do this, but what can you do? That's the way politics is run these days."

We asked Brown campaign spokeswoman Bobbi Johnson if George Brown was a liberal insider.

"He's never been a liberal insider. In fact, he's always tilted against the system." You see, even though he is a 14-term incumbent, Brown has always stood proudly for "change." As he said at a September press conference, "I fought most of my political career against the accusation that I was too damn much interested in change. I still am."

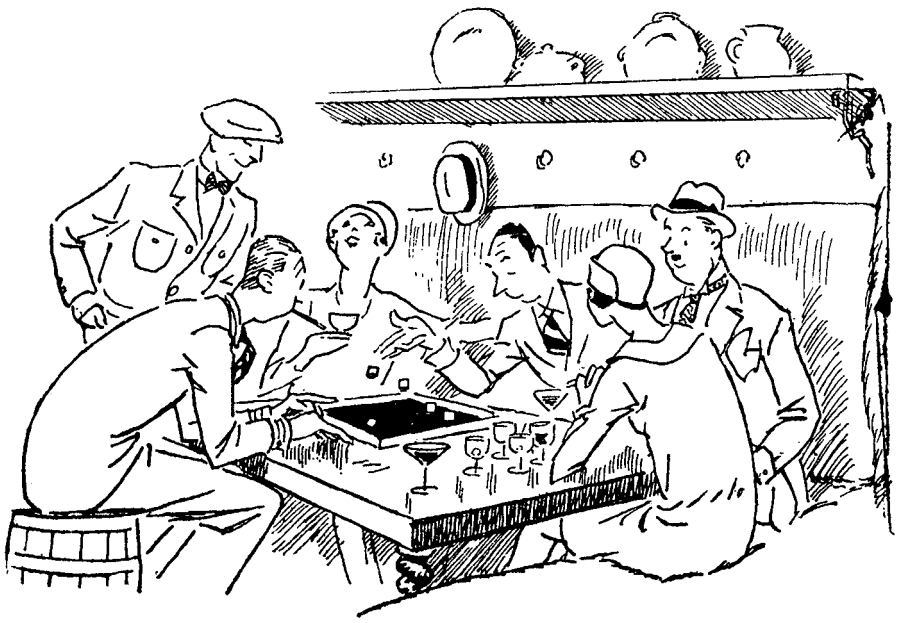
Johnson speculated that her boss's liberal reputation "springs from his Vietnam War years" when he was an active opponent of the war, and that he "consistently supported some of the stronger programs of the Great Society." Johnson added that Brown "is more moderate nowadays. Sometimes, I even think he's a conservative."

My, my. Even so, the *Inland Valley News* said "Brown can usually be counted upon to vote with the House's more liberal members on social and defense issues" while the *California Journal* called Brown an "insider ... liberal Democratic incumbent."

CHANGE IS a slippery term in the hands of liberal Democrats. But all the obfuscation aside, some consistent meanings do register in their use of the word. Rather than summarize them here, we'll leave that to George Brown by quoting from his September 8, 1992, *Los Angeles Times* Op-Ed piece. In 1990 Brown became chairman of the House Space and Technology Committee. His piece is for the most part a rather abstruse, semi-philosophical discourse on the role of science in society and politics, but the true liberal shines through in the cliches crammed into its concluding paragraphs:

"Society needs to negotiate a new contract with the scientific community. This contract must be rooted in the pursuit of explicit, long-term social goals, such as zero-population, reduced generation of waste, reduced consumption of non-renewable resources, less armed conflict, less dependence on material goods as a gauge of wealth or success and greater opportunity for self-realization for all human beings. A new contract will measure the value of research and innovation not by number of publications or citations or patents, but by progress toward these specific goals.

"Now is the time to begin drafting this new contract. We must not wait until increasing population, pollution, resource consumption, and concentration of wealth become insurmountable obstacles to the well-being of society. Scientists and politicians must abandon the self-serving rhetoric that drives today's science agenda, and work together to ensure that tomorrow's scientific research better serves the needs of all humanity." All the elements are here. This is the lexicon of the social engineer. When Democrats hold forth about societal contracts, what they really mean is "change" — change in the way *you* live, change brought about through *more* government control, because to the liberal mind "government" and "society" are interchangeable terms. Boiling it down, one might say: philosophers have explained the world; it is necessary to change the world. CPR



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Close Encounters With An Environmentalist

(Continued from page 27)

the EPA, based in Denver, in 1984 and 1985 put teeth into environmental regulations. They chose to show their muscle by targeting certain large corporations. Most all of ChemWaste's violations were paperwork violations."

IT'S NOTEWORTHY that Zweig sees the NEIC clampdown as having been a good thing. As a result of strict enforcement, companies began making sure they brought in environmentally ethical executives. They instituted exhaustive compliance programs. "Much of what we do would seem ludicrous to the outsider," he stressed. "We strive for 100 percent compliance."

Shortly after my second close encounter with an environmentalist, ChemWaste's FSEIR (Final Subsequent Environmental Impact Report) was rejected as inadequate by Judge Jeffrey Gunther of Superior Court in Sacramento.

In his opinion, Gunther essentially says that because the San Joaquin Valley is already out of attainment with federal and state environmental standards no new source of pollution is allowed regardless of offsets purchased (offsets allow a new source of pollution to take the place of another source that has been removed ... in this case ChemWaste purchased offsets from a closed Beacon Oil Refinery to offset its pollution from the incinerator) and other anti-pollution measures used. I am no lawyer, but it appears that by this reasoning one could not buy one new car even if one has retired two old cars because the new car will still emit some pollution.

I suppose this is an okay opinion but I don't think it's the law. At least the court admits that the FSEIR is "within the technical meaning of the federal and state clean air acts." Other reasons for rejection of the FSEIR include concerns that the agricultural impact was calculated incorrectly and that the cumulative impact portion of the study did not include other sources of pollution. Although the court may have a point in its criticism of the agricultural study, it appears that the court expects ChemWaste to include *all* sources of pollution in the Valley with its FSEIR. These standards appear to be utopian. The case is being appealed.

Meanwhile, the project, which has been in the planning stages since 1987, is continually being reviewed for viability. The company had planned to have the incinerator on-line by 1992-1993. However, the company was aware that it would be a long haul.

ZWEIG HAD one last overall comment to make, "I like to ask opponents if they drove to this meeting [referring to community protest meetings]. Do they have a computer at home? Cars and computer manufacturing generate some of the worst hazardous waste. Every product generates hazardous waste. If we want these things we have to take responsibility to dispose of the waste wisely. The environmental bill is due."

Me: "What do they say when you ask them these questions?"

Zweig: "Nothing. They just usually mumble something about how by having a waste facility we're encouraging people to manufacture." Now that's a new thought. And, of course, stupid. CPR

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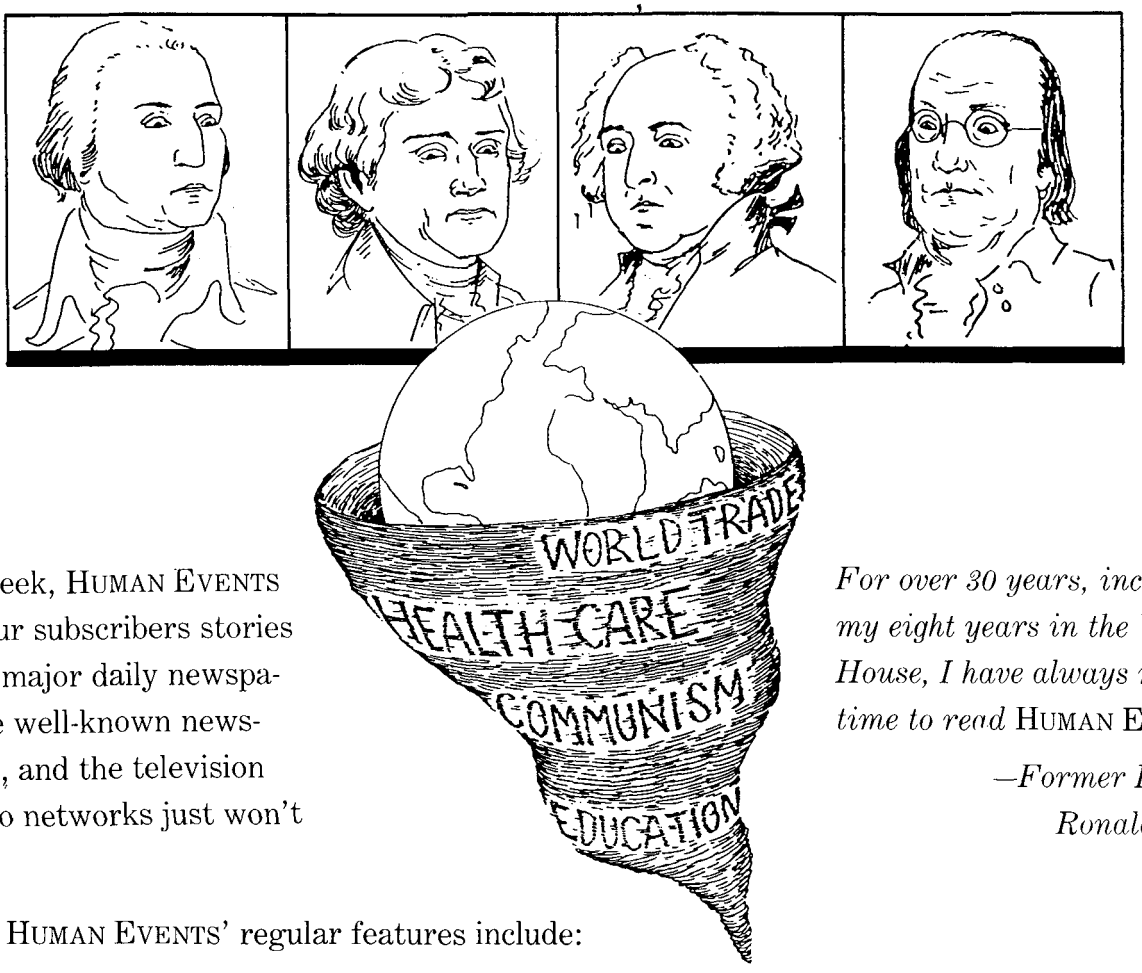
With the world caught up in the winds of change, isn't it important to keep a stable perspective?



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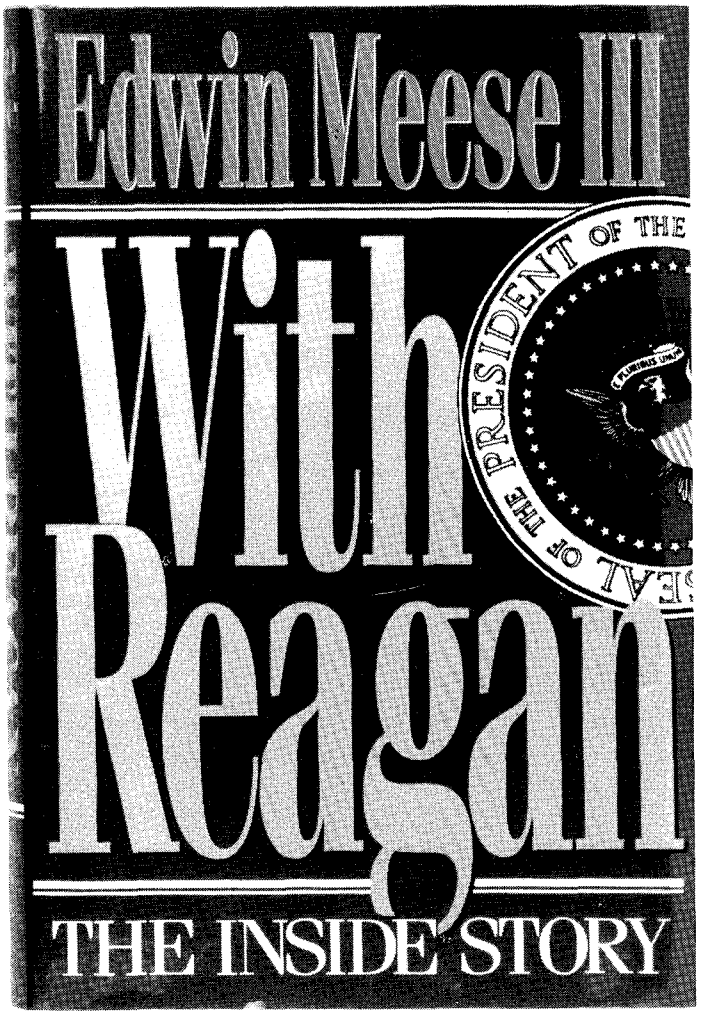

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